

**THE GRAVE TRAGEDY OF THE
CHURCH OF ST THOMAS
CHRISTIANS AND THE APOSTOLIC
MISSION OF SEBASTIANI**

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To the memory of
ALEXANDER PARAMBIL
the first native Bishop of the
St Thomas Christians
known to history

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Paul Pallath

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
Table of Contents	ix
General Introduction	1

THE GRAVE TRAGEDY OF THE CHURCH OF ST THOMAS CHRISTIANS AND THE APOSTOLIC MISSION OF JOSEPH OF ST MARY SEBASTIANI: IMPORTANT ACTS AND FACTS

1. The Causes of <i>Coonan Cross Oath</i>	4
1.1. The Synod of Diamper.....	4
1.2. Severing of the Hierarchical Relationship with the Chaldean Church.....	5
1.3. Suppression of the Autonomous Metropolitan Status.....	6
1.4. Imposition of Western Jurisdiction	7
1.5. Imposition of Portuguese Patronage	7
1. 6. Suppression of Eastern Heritage and Ecclesial Identity	8
1.7. Curtailment of the Powers and Prerogatives of the Archdeacon.....	10
1.8. Suppression of All India Jurisdiction.....	11
1.9. The Monopoly of the Jesuits.....	11
1.10. Attempts to Suppress the Religious Congregation of the Recollects	12
1.11. General Dissatisfaction of the Clergy	13
2. Archbishop Garcia and Archdeacon Thomas: the Final War on Power	13

3. The Immediate Cause of the Revolt; the Arrival of Patriarch Mar Atallah.....	15
3.1. The Letters of Atallah and the Conviction of the St Thomas Christians.....	16
3.2. Deportation of Atallah and the Open Revolt	19
3.3. A Schism Founded on Objectively False Premises, in Violation of Catholic and Orthodox Canon Law.....	22
4. An Oath against the Jesuits of Padroado	24
5. The Intervention of Rome and the Aposotlic Mission of Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani.....	29
5.1. The First Mission of Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani	31
5.2. The Second Mission of Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani.....	38
6. A Brief Biographical Note on Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani....	42
7. A Brief Note on the Two Books of Sebastiani.....	43
Characters on Stage (besides Sebastiani) and the Significance of Some Words and Expressions.....	47

Part One

THE FIRST EXPEDITION OF JOSEPH OF ST MARY SEBASTIANI OCD TO THE EAST INDIES

BOOK ONE

Chapter I: Foundation and Various Stages of the Christianity of Malabar	55
Chapter II: The Fall of Malabar into Heretical Schism.....	57
Chapter III: Information about the Crisis in Rome and My Expedition to Malabar.....	60

BOOK TWO

Chapter I: Starts to Negotiate over the Reduction of the Intruder	64
Chapter II: The Flight of the Archdeacon; and My Passage to Kuravilangad.....	67
Chapter III: Secret Meeting at Edappally.....	73
Chapter IV: My Stay at the Castle of Upper Cochin, and the Description of Some Aspects of Those Countries	75
Chapter V: The State of the Portuguese in India and the Other Reasons that Made the Deal Difficult.....	79
Chapter VI: We Give up Hope Almost Entirely and Then the Situation Improves	82
Chapter VII: Passage to Muttom and the Conversion of That Population	87
Chapter VIII: My Return to the Fortress and from there again to Muttom for a Meeting	89
Chapter IX: Transfer of this Assembly to Mattancherry, and What Was Resolved in It.....	93
Chapter X: The New Assembly at Alangad	95
Chapter XI: New Efforts Made in Favour of the Deal and the Difficulties Encountered	99
Chapter XII: The Conversion of a Man from Parur; Father Hyacinth Arrives in Goa and Baptizes Many Pagans	102
Chapter XIII: The Last Assembly at St Thomas and the Delight in Cochin.....	106
Chapter XIV: What Was Done Further concerning the Affair of Malabar, and the Visit of Another Prince	110
Chapter XVIII: The Decision to Go to Rome, My Substitute, Embarkation	113

Part Two**THE SECOND EXPEDITION OF JOSEPH OF ST
MARY SEBASTIANI OCD TO THE EAST INDIES****BOOK ONE**

Chapter I: Information about the Christianity of Malabar and the Commencement of the Second Expedition	119
Chapter II: Departure from Rome	121
Chapter XV: Passage to Goa.....	122
Chapter XVI: What Happened in Goa until My Departure for Cochin.....	125
Chapter XVII: Departure from Goa to Cochin.....	131
Chapter XVIII: Disembarkation in Cochin and What Happened in Malabar	133

BOOK TWO

Chapter I: What Was Done in Cochin on My Arrival with Regard to Malabar	139
Chapter II: My Work in Cochin for the Common Good	141
Chapter III: Obedience of Gnareca, Caringachira, Chowara, Kanjoor, Kalloorkad, Kodamallur and Vaipicotta	143
Chapter IV: First Entrance into Malabar and the Visit of Muttom.....	145
Chapter V: Passage to Kalloorkad, Visit of the Churches and the King	148
Chapter VI: Agreement of Kandanad and Diamper, My Passage to This Place and the Arrival of the Intruder to Mulanthuruthy	151
Chapter VII: Travails of My Companions and Followers, Malignancy of the Intruder and His Men.....	153
Chapter VIII: Attempts to Capture the Intruder	158

Chapter IX: Obedience of Three Churches before Codorm, My ' Perils, and the Remains of the Intruder, Part of Which Was Burned Publicly	160
Chapter X: Obedience of "Nadame" and Caringachira, Cruelty of the Schismatics and Visit of Kandanad.....	163
Chapter XI: Passage to Cochin, Procession, Obedience of Paliakara and Return to Diamper for a Meeting	166
Chapter XII: Return to Cochin, Relief Given by Gentiles to a Church, the Wickedness of the Intruder, and the Loss of Cranganore.....	167
Chapter XIII: My Risks, Massacre of the King of Cochin, Two Princes and Other Ministers, My Return to Muttom.....	171
Chapter XIV: Dangers of My Companions and of the City of Cochin and the Rescue of a Succour.....	174
Chapter XV: Removal of the Siege, Various Functions in Muttom and Passage to Cochin	178
Chapter XVI: My Dangers, Treaties of Edappally and Passage to Chowara.....	181
Chapter XVII: Visit of Alangad, the Three Churches of Angamaly and the King and the Princes of Those Places	185
Chapter XVIII: Visit of Akaparambu: Feast in Alangad for a New Mass, Passage from Cochin to Muttom	191
Chapter XIX: New Siege of Cochin, Visit of the King of Kaduthuruthy, Passage to That Place, My Imprisonment and Travail.....	194
Chapter XX: Unhappy Loss of Cochin	199
Chapter XXI: My Perplexity, Travail for the Loss of Cochin and Efforts Made with the Dutch to Remain in Malabar.....	202
Chapter XXII: Different Expedients for the Good of Malabar, Marvellous Election of Fr Alexander Parambil (de Campo) as Bishop of Megara	204
Chapter XXIII: Efforts made with the Intruder, with the King of Kduthuruthy, with the Dutch and with the Elected.....	208

Chapter XXIV: Consecration of the Elect, Sentence against the Intruder and Visit of the Church of Mercy and that of Muttuchira.....	211
Chapter XXV: The Bounty of the Thekkubhagar Christians; What Was Done in Benefit of the New Prelate and His Qualities.....	214
Chapter XXVI: Passage to Cochin, Efforts Made with the Dutch to Remain in Malabar and for Its Benefit.....	217
Chapter XXVII: Arrival of the New Bishop in Cochin, What Was Done with the Dutch and with Him, and the House of the Fathers Minors in That City	221

Part Three

IMPORTANT ROMAN DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE TWO EXPEDITIONS OF JOSEPH OF ST MARY SEBASTIANI

1. Exhortation to All the Christian Faithful in Favour of Joseph of St Mary Setting out for the Regions of the East.....	226
2. Pope Alexander VII Sends Joseph of St Mary to the Province of Angamaly with Various Faculties.....	228
3. Exhortation to Thomas, Archdeacon of Angamaly on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary	232
4. Another Exhortation to Thomas, Archdeacon of Angamaly, on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary	234
5. Exhortation to the Christian Faithful Who Withdrew from Obedience to the Archbishop of Angamaly on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary.....	238
6. Exhortation to the Clergy and People Who Adhered to the Archbishop of Angamaly on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary	240
7. Exhortation to the Archbishop of Angamaly on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary	242

8. Exhortation to the Chapter of the Church of Cochin on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary	244
9. Joseph of St Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis, Is Again Sent as Commissioner or Administrator of the Church of Angamaly with Ample Faculties	248
10. Authority Is Given to Joseph of St Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis, for Committing to One or Two Native Priests the Administration of the Archdiocese of Angamaly	264
11. Recommendations to the Inquisitors of Goa on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis ..	268
12. Apostolic Letter to the Christian Faithful in the Province of Malabar on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis.....	270
13. Letter of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on the Mission of Friar Joseph of St Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis, in the Province of Malabar.....	274

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

By the “grave tragedy” we mean the schism and the divisions that arose in the Church of St Thomas Christians after the *Coonan* Cross Oath in 1653. People often ask many questions concerning the said tragic events: Who were responsible for the *Coonan* Cross Oath and the schism? What was the content of the Oath? Against whom was the Oath made? What really happened after the said Oath? How did the Oath deviate into a schism? What was known in Rome and in the West about the schism? What did the Roman Pontiff and the Holy See do to resolve the crisis? Why was the schism in the Church continued despite the efforts of the various authorities to extinguish it? In spite of all these events, how did the majority of the St Thomas Christians remain in full communion with the Roman Pontiff? The answers to such questions can be found in the two books of Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani, the Apostolic Commissary appointed by the Roman Pontiff: *Prima Spedizione all'Indie Orientali* (*First Expedition to the East Indies*) and *Seconda Spedizione all'Indie Orientali* (*Second Expedition to the East Indies*) published in Rome in 1666 and 1672 respectively.

Sebastiani, whom Pope Alexander VII twice sent to India to settle the problems, seems to be the best person to describe what he, and others who interacted with him, said and did to recompose unity and communion among the St Thomas Christians. However, his writings in the old Italian language seem to have been incomprehensible, even to a very few Indians who studied the said language, because of their ancient literary style, special idiomatic expressions and localisms. Hence our decision to render into English those parts of the books of Sebastiani, which treat of the Church of St Thomas Christians, together with the relevant documents.

In our introductory study: “The Grave Tragedy of the Church of St Thomas Christians and the Apostolic Mission of Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani: Important Acts and Facts”, in order to enable the readers to comprehend better the events which Sebastiani described in his two books, we will offer a general overview of the *Coonan*

Cross Oath and the schism of 1653. Then under the title, "Characters on Stage...", we will provide succinct information concerning all the important persons, who played various roles in Malabar at that epoch and whom Sebastiani mentioned in his books. The significance of some particular words and expressions which Sebastiani frequently used in his books is also given.

After these introductory sections our book is divided into three parts. In the first and second parts the English translation of the two works of Sebastiani – specifically what he wrote about the Church of St Thomas Christians – is presented respectively. The third part is devoted to the important Roman documents concerning the two missions of Sebastiani together with their English translation.

Sebastiani is not an exception to the other Western missionaries of that epoch, who widely circulated in the Roman Curia and in the whole West that the St Thomas Christians were Nestorian heretics, schismatics and pagans before the Synod of Diamper in 1599. Despite this prejudice and notwithstanding the fact that he wrote from a Western and Carmelite point of view, from the original documents either published or kept in the Roman archives and from the writings of other native and foreign authors, it is not difficult to ascertain that the kernel of the acts and facts narrated in his writings corresponds to the truth.

THE GRAVE TRAGEDY OF THE CHURCH OF ST THOMAS CHRISTIANS AND THE APOSTOLIC MISSION OF JOSEPH OF ST MARY SEBASTIANI: IMPORTANT ACTS AND FACTS

By the expression “grave tragedy” we mean the *Coonan* Cross Oath (oath at the slant cross) and the subsequent schism in the Church of St Thomas Christians, which from the time of the preaching of the Apostle Thomas in the beginning of Christian era until the said oath in 1653 remained one and united under the same head, having the same faith, liturgy, canonical discipline as well as theological and spiritual heritage. I qualify it as a grave tragedy because after the first division of the St Thomas Christians into Catholic and non Catholic factions, there came about the splintering of the non-Catholic community into different groups, in such a way that at present there exist at least seven churches: the Syro-Malabar Church, the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church, the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Orthodox Church, the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, the Independent Syrian Church of Malabar (Thozhiyoor), the Assyrian Church of the East (separated from the Catholic group) and the Syro-Malankara Catholic Church. Since these churches are of different faiths – Catholic, Antiochene Orthodox “Monophysite”, Assyrian Orthodox “Nestorian” and Protestant -, liturgies, spiritualities and canonical disciplines, there is no hope for any unification of all the St Thomas Christians under one head, as they had existed from the time of the Apostle Thomas until the schism in 1653. In brief the St Thomas Christians will remain divided until the end of the world.

In this preliminary section our intention is not to make any rigorous scientific research, but to provide, based on already existing studies, essential information concerning the important acts and facts connected with the schism of 1653, in order to enable the readers to comprehend better the writings of Sebastiani.¹

¹ In fact, two objective source studies exist with regard to the *Coonan* Cross Oath and the subsequent schism: J. Thekkedath *The Troubled Days of Francis*

We give a general overview of the causes of the *Coonan Cross Oath*, the events that led to the invalid episcopal consecration of Archdeacon Thomas Parambil and the consequent schism, the circumstances of the two apostolic missions of Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani and an introduction to his two books, which we present in part one and part two, respectively.

1. The Causes of *Coonan Cross Oath*

Generally it is possible to affirm that everything that jeopardized the Eastern identity, Thomistic ecclesial heritage and autonomous self-governance of the Indian Church from the time of the arrival of the Western missionaries in the beginning of the sixteenth century, finally provoked the outbreak of the rebellion of the St Thomas Christians, known as the *Coonan Cross Oath*. We have categorized the causes of the Oath under eleven headings. The eleven points, which we give below, mutually interconnected and inseparable, are not of equal importance, but somehow contributed to triggering a dynamism of hatred and antipathy in the St Thomas Christians against the Jesuit Archbishops and the Jesuit missionaries, which finally led to the public revolt of these Christians.

1. 1. The Synod of Diamper

During the vacancy of the See of the St Thomas Christians after the death of Archbishop Mar Abraham in January 1597, the Archbishop of Goa, Alexis de Menezes, who had no jurisdiction over the St Thomas Christians forcefully entered the Archdiocese of Angamaly and with the help of local Hindu kings - who were won over with threats, bribes and heavy gifts - and of the Portuguese civil and military authorities imposed upon the St Thomas Christians the pseudo Synod of Diamper from 20 to 26 June 1599, to which they were convoked under pain of

Garcia S.J., *Archbishop of Cranganore (1641-59)*, Roma 1972 & J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653*, Kottayam 1981.

excommunication *latae sententiae*.² The Synod introduced drastic changes in liturgy, sacramental discipline, ecclesiastical administration and the socio-cultural life of the St Thomas Christians, which provoked grave dissatisfaction and consternation.

1. 2. Severing of the Hierarchical Relationship with the Chaldean Church

After the presumed interruption of the Indian hierarchy instituted by the Apostle Thomas, probably from the fourth century onwards bishops were appointed in India by the head of the Church of the East in the Persian Empire. Such hierarchical relationship continued until the death of the last Chaldean Metropolitan Mar Abraham in January 1597. One of the principal aims of the Synod of Diamper was to sever the hierarchical relationship of the Church of St Thomas Christians with the Chaldean Church and with its Patriarch, who was their canonical head at that epoch. In fact, the Synod of Diamper condemned, rejected and anathematised the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch Simon Denha (1581-1600), who was in full and explicit communion with the Roman Pontiff, as being a Nestorian heretic and schismatic.³ The Synod further ordered, under the precept of obedience and upon pain of excommunication to be *ipso facto* incurred, that this diocese "shall not from henceforward have any manner of dependence upon the said Patriarch of Babylon" and prohibited all priests and curates to name the said Patriarch during any liturgical celebration.⁴ In brief the millennial relationship of the Indian Church with the Chaldean Patriarch was arbitrarily and abruptly interrupted, without any intervention of the Supreme Authority of the Church and without paying any regard to acquired rights and immemorial or better millennial customs.

² For details, J. Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper*, OCA 152, Rome 1958; P. Pallath, "The Synod of Diamper Valid or Invalid?", in G. Nedungatt, ed., *The Synod of Diamper Revisited*, Rome 2001, 199-226.

³ See session II, decree 1; on the full communion of the Patriarch, see, G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione*, *Orientalia Christiana* 29, Roma 1933, 68-81.

⁴ Session III, decree 19.

1.3. Suppression of the Autonomous Metropolitan Status

In the course of time, Patriarch Isayahb III (649-660) constituted the Indian Church as an autonomous metropolitan province, depending directly on the Patriarch of the Church of the East.⁵ From that time onwards the hierarchy of the Church in India was headed by a ‘Metropolitan of all India’,⁶ who had jurisdiction over the whole of India. Patriarch Timothy I (780-823) confirmed the provision of Isayahb III, but reserved the right to ordain the Metropolitan of all India to the Patriarch himself.⁷ At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese missionaries in the sixteenth century, the Church of St Thomas Christians was an autonomous metropolitan Church, headed by a metropolitan of all India, appointed by the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch and governed by an indigenous Archdeacon of all India, assisted by the general church assembly consisting of representatives of the clergy and the people of God.

To gratify the demand of the King of Portugal, who had *ius patronatus* in the East Indies and in accordance with request of the religious and political authorities in Goa, on 20 December 1599 Pope Clement VIII (1592-1603) suppressed the autonomous metropolitan status of the See of the St Thomas Christians, reduced it to the status of a simple diocese and made it a suffragan of the Archdiocese of Goa, thus constituting one single ecclesiastical

⁵ Cf. S. H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia, Volume I: Beginnings to 1500*, New York 1998, 257 & 269; J. Kollaparambil, “Sources on the Hierarchical Structure of the St Thomas Christian Church in the Pre-Diamper Period”, in B. Puthur, ed., *The Life and Nature of the St. Thomas Christian Church in the Pre-Diamper Period*, Kochi 2000, 167-168.

⁶ J. Kollaparambil, “Sources on the Hierarchical Structure of the St Thomas Christian Church...”, 168.

⁷ See the letter of the Patriarch to the Archdeacon, head of the faithful in India, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 168, Luvain 1957, 121; partial English translation in J. Kollaparambil, “Sources on the Hierarchical Structure of the St Thomas Christian Church...”, 168; cf. also S. H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 353.

province and forming one Church and jurisdiction.⁸ Although upon the continuous protests and earnest petitions of the St Thomas Christians Pope Paul V (1605-1621) reinstated the metropolitan status of their See,⁹ the Portuguese political and religious authorities treated it only as a titular archdiocese subject to the authorities of Goa.

1.4. Imposition of Western Jurisdiction

After the severing of the hierarchical relationship with the Church of the East, Western jurisdiction was imposed upon the St Thomas Christians. Pope Clement VIII appointed the first Latin bishop Francis Ros SJ to their See on 20 December 1599. Bishop Ros received episcopal consecration at Goa on 28 January 1601 and on 1 May of the same year he reached Angamaly and took possession of his diocese.¹⁰ Thus against the will of the St Thomas Christians, who always desired Eastern bishops of their own rite and ecclesial heritage, they were placed under the jurisdiction of Latin bishops. After Francis Ros (1599-1624) SJ, the Portuguese Jesuit Latin Bishops Stephen Brito (1624-1641) and Francis Garcia (1641-1659) governed the Church; it was during the governance of the latter that the unfortunate revolt of the St Thomas Christians and the aforementioned schism occurred.

1.5. Imposition of Portuguese Patronage

Swayed by the petitions of the King of Portugal Pope Clement VIII not only suppressed the metropolitan status of the

⁸ See *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 1, 260 & tom. 2, 8; Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae 1794, 61; P. Pallath, *Important Roman Documents concerning the Catholic Church in India*, Kottayam 2004, 68-69 & 74-75.

⁹ See the apostolic letter *Romanus Pontifex* of 22 December 1608, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 8-9; P. Pallath, *Important Roman Documents...*, 74-79.

¹⁰ D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. 1, Bangalore 1939, 292; for details concerning the appointment of Francis Ros, A. Santos, "Francisco Ros, S. J. Arzobispo de Cranganor, primer Obispo Jesuita de la India", *Missionalia Hispanica* 14 (1948) 373-378.

See of the St Thomas Christians and reduced it to a suffragan of the Archdiocese of Goa, but also imposed upon it the patronage of the King of Portugal on 4 August 1600.¹¹ Thus the latter obtained the absolute right and privilege to present a prelate to the Pope for appointment to the Diocese of Angamaly, whenever the See remained vacant, which right even the Supreme Authority of the Church could not have revoked, without the consent of the same King. Further he acquired the right to select and send missionaries to Malabar. In brief, the King became the supreme political and religious head of the St Thomas Christians, and practically exercised jurisdiction both on civil and religious matters. Evidently the Portuguese patronage was imposed upon the St Thomas Christians against their will, for the benefit of the Portuguese Crown and for strengthening the military, religious and colonial power of the Portuguese authorities in India.

1. 6. Suppression of Eastern Heritage and Ecclesial Identity

The St Thomas Christians were fully convinced of the fact that the liturgy, sacraments and other rites which they were celebrating according to the East Syrian tradition, had been bequeathed to their forefathers by the Apostle Thomas in the Aramaic or Syriac language. They called the sum total of their ecclesial heritage the way or the law of Thomas, which contained their faith, liturgy, spiritual life, discipline, traditions and customs, as well as the whole ecclesial, socio-political and cultural *modus vivendi et agendi*. The St Thomas Christians considered the law or way of Thomas, which they had received directly from the Apostle, sacrosanct and inviolable and were even ready to shed their blood in its defence.

From the very beginning attempts were made by the Western missionaries to suppress the law of Thomas, the Eastern rite, the Syriac language and the Indian cultural elements which constituted the distinctive identity of the Church of St Thomas Christians and to replace them with the “law of Peter”, the Latin rite, the Latin language and Western culture. The third provincial council of Goa

¹¹ *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 1, 260-261; P. Pallath, *Important Roman Documents...*, 68-73.

(1585) ordered that since at that time Latin could not be utilized the Roman Missal, the Roman Breviary, the Roman Pontifical and the Roman Sacerdotal (Ritual) had to be translated into Syriac for the administration of the sacraments.¹² The Synod of Diamper condemned the law of Thomas, so dear to the Eastern Christians in India as a "manifest error and heresy".¹³ Ratifying the decree of the third provincial Council of Goa, while legislating on the seven sacraments, the Synod also ordered the translation of the Roman liturgical books into Syriac for their correct administration. In fact the Synod aimed at the complete conformity of the liturgy and sacramental discipline of the St Thomas Christians to those of the Roman-Portuguese tradition. The translation of the Roman liturgical books into Syriac was almost completed during the initial years of the governance of Francis Ros SJ, the first Latin Bishop of the St Thomas Christians, who promulgated and implemented such texts in his diocese. With regard to the introduction of the Roman liturgical books, in his Report on Malabar, written in 1604, Bishop Francis Ros SJ was able to state:

About twenty years back, through the diligence of the Fathers of the Society (of Jesus) residing at Vaypicotta, the Book of the Rituals of all the sacraments including Orders, together with all their formulas, prayers and ceremonies was translated from Latin into Chaldean. All the parish priests of this Christianity are now using it in the administration of the sacraments. They differ from us in this matter only as regards the language, except that the saying of the Mass is in the ancient manner, but as corrected and approved by the most illustrious Primate of India, who reviewed and recognized the said Mass which was translated into Latin by the Fathers of the Society.¹⁴

¹² Session 3, decree 7, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*, Appendix-Tomus 1, edited by Paiva Manso, Lisbon 1872, 75.

¹³ Session II, decree 1; Session III, decree 7.

¹⁴ Francis Ros, *Relação sobre a Serra (A Report on the Serra)*, written in 1604, British Library MS Add. 9853, ff. 86-99, Portuguese original and English translation, in G. Nedungatt, ed., *The Synod of Diamper Revisited*, Rome 2001, 335.

In fact, from the time of Ros the liturgy of the St Thomas Christians was for the most part the liturgy of the Latin Church in the Syriac language. Following in the footsteps of Francis Ros, his successors continued the execution of the decrees of the Synod of Diamper concerning the liturgy and sacramental discipline.

1.7. Curtailment of the Powers and Prerogatives of the Archdeacon

During the Eastern governance the metropolitan of the St Thomas Christians was only the spiritual head who was chiefly occupied with the *munus sanctificandi*, the celebration of the holy Mysteries, without intervening in the administration and the other temporal affairs of the Church. The effective leader and real governor of the Indian Church was the "Archdeacon of all India" who was always a priest from among the St Thomas Christians and who practically governed the Church except in matters that needed the exercise of episcopal Order. The Archdeacon was the visible foundation of the unity of the St Thomas Christians who were dispersed in about twenty-five native kingdoms and principalities, as well as the symbol of their ecclesial prestige, high status and political power. Since the native Hindu kings, princes and governors revered and feared the Archdeacon who had under his command more than forty thousand Christian soldiers, they never dared to hurt the clergy nor the churches of the St Thomas Christians.

It is no wonder that the prestigious Indian archdiaconate was absolutely incompatible with the Western concept of monarchic episcopacy, especially of that epoch, which reserved ecclesiastical jurisdiction to bishops alone. Anyhow the Latin bishops, without paying any heed to the immemorial traditions of the Indian Eastern Church, endeavoured to exclude the Archdeacon completely from Church governance, humiliate him before the Hindu kings, and curtail all his powers, rights and prerogatives. On the other hand the Archdeacons tried their best to maintain their jurisdiction and honours intact. The attempts to liquidate the archdiaconate provoked grave disquiet among the clergy and the Christian faithful, also because it caused the loss of the former high status and prestige of the community.

1.8. Suppression of All India Jurisdiction

After the transfer of the seat and the residence of the bishop of the St Thomas Christians from Angamaly to Cranganore, owing to the jurisdictional conflicts between Francis Ros SJ and the Bishop of Cochin, upon the mandate of Pope Paul V, the Archbishop of Goa, Alexis de Menezes, with his decree of 22 December 1610 divided the territory of India between the four Padroado dioceses existing there at that epoch: Angamaly (of the St Thomas Christians), Cochin, Mylapore and Goa. Menezes determined the boundaries of the Diocese of Angamaly with respect to the neighbouring Dioceses of Cochin and Mylapore in such a way that the St Thomas Christians were divided between the Dioceses of Cochin and Angamaly, though the vast majority remained in the latter.¹⁵ With the execution of this division in 1616 not only was the territory of the See of St Thomas Christians restricted to a very small region, then known as Malabar, but also the ancient titles, the Metropolitan of all India and the Archdeacon of all India practically became extinct. Thereafter the Bishop and the Archdeacon of the St Thomas Christians began to be generally entitled the (Arch)bishop of Angamaly and the Archdeacon of Angamaly, respectively.

1.9. The Monopoly of the Jesuits

In order to maintain the monopoly of the Jesuits in Malabar, their Archbishops excluded the religious of all other orders from working among the St Thomas Christians. The Jesuit Archbishops even expelled from the territory a few religious who happened to enter Malabar. On the other hand the Archdeacon and the St Thomas Christians demanded that all religious should be permitted to work among them. The other religious orders present in India, who wanted to break the monopoly of the Jesuits in Malabar, also supported the Archdeacon. Complaints were sent to Rome from India and from other places about the matter. Consequently on 22

¹⁵ For documents see, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 10-17 & 26-27; for the original text and the English translation of the documents, see P. Pallath, *Important Roman Documents...*, 80-107.

February 1633 Pope Urban VIII issued the brief *Ex debito pastoralis* prohibiting all religious orders, under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae*, to reserve any region to themselves, ordering that every region in Japan and India should be open to all those religious who wanted to work there.¹⁶ On 14 April 1636 Propaganda Fide also wrote a letter, allowing all religious to work in Malabar, provided they had permission from their major superiors. But the Jesuits overcame the order of the Pope, obtaining a letter from the King of Portugal, who decreed the exclusion of all religious except the Jesuits from Malabar.¹⁷ The Archbishop and the Jesuits paid no heed to the requests of the Archdeacon to implement the order of the Pope in the See of Angamaly and hence they appeared to the St Thomas Christians as disobedient to the Pope and the Holy See.

1.10. Attempts to Suppress the Religious Congregation of the Recollects

The local religious congregation of the Recollects of Edappally and Angamaly, known also as the ‘Congregation of St Thomas the Apostle’, was founded in 1626 by Archbishop Stephen Brito at the request of the then Archdeacon George of the Cross and other leading priests.¹⁸ But soon the Jesuits, who began to doubt the intention of the Archdeacon, feared that they would be ousted from Malabar, if the new congregation would grow with papal approbation. Hence the same Archbishop, through the Jesuit General, blocked the attempts of the Archdeacon to get the approbation of the Pope for the said Congregation and his successor Garcia used all possible means to suppress it, thus

¹⁶ *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 48-49.

¹⁷ For documentation and details, J. Thekkedath, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J.*, 68-69; J. Kollaparambil, *The Archdeacon of All India: A Historico-Juridical Study*, Rome 1972, 124-125.

¹⁸ For details, see the article of E. R. Hambye, “The Congregation of St Thomas the Apostle, A Society for Priests in Malabar XVIIth Century”, in J. Vellian, ed., *The Malabar Church, OCA 186*, Roma 1970, 123-132.

entering into bitter conflict with Archdeacon Thomas Parambil, who wanted to maintain it at any cost.¹⁹

1.11. General Dissatisfaction of the Clergy

In addition to all the difficulties narrated above, the drastic changes made in the discipline of the clergy such as the introduction of the Western discipline of obligatory celibacy and the innovations made in parish administration provoked general dissatisfaction among the clergy. The practice of receiving voluntary offerings from the Christian faithful on the occasion of the celebration of the sacraments and sacramentals, the main source of sustenance of the clergy, was condemned as simony. Because of the decline of political power and other circumstances, the King of Portugal, who had the obligation to maintain the clergy in accordance with the terms of *ius patronatus*, failed to pay the allowances of the vicars, or even if paid, they did not reach the proper destination.

2. Archbishop Garcia and Archdeacon Thomas: the Final War on Power

As we have indicated above, the first three Latin Jesuit bishops who ruled the St Thomas Christians under the Portuguese Padroado were Francis Ros (1599-1624), Stephen Brito (1624-1641) and Francis Garcia (1641-1659). Archdeacon George of the Cross, who took possession of the office in 1593 and who witnessed all the tragic events that fell upon his Church since the final days of the last Chaldean Archbishop Mar Abraham, died on 25 July 1640. In spite of indescribable sufferings, his extraordinary piety and heroic faith saved the Church of St Thomas Christians from any schism and divisions. After the death of Archdeacon George, without much delay Archbishop Stephen Brito promoted Fr Thomas Parambil to the office of Archdeacon.

Archbishop Stephen Brito died on 2 December 1641. Francis Garcia, who had been coadjutor bishop since 1637 became

¹⁹ Cf. J. Thekkedath, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J.*, 68-69; J. Kollaparambil, *The Archdeacon of All India...*, 126-128.

Archbishop of Cranganore on 3 December 1641. Archbishop Garcia, qualified as a harsh, vindictive and hard-headed ruler, decided to exercise the whole jurisdiction personally and to exclude the Archdeacon completely from ecclesiastical governance. On the other hand, the Archdeacon was fully determined to defend his ancient rights and privileges, as they existed among the St Thomas Christians from time immemorial. Hence from the very beginning Garcia's rule was marked by a bitter and constant power struggle between himself and the Archdeacon, which no religious and political authority, including the Viceroy of Portuguese India was unable to resolve.²⁰ Although each of the causes enumerated above had its own impact, the underlying factor which finally determined the revolt was the war of power, a war fought between a despotic Archbishop and an intransigent Archdeacon, employing all the means available.

Notwithstanding the prohibition of the entrance of non-Jesuit religious in Malabar, in order to defeat Francis Garcia, the Archdeacon established contacts with the religious of other orders in Cochin and Goa, and one or two Carmelites entered Malabar. In 1647 the Archdeacon constituted three Carmelites as his procurators to act on behalf of the Malabar Church in Goa, Lisbon and Rome. In 1647 through the Carmelites the Archdeacon also sent letters to the Roman Pontiff and to Propaganda Fide concerning the problems of the Malabar Church. In the letters, among other things, the Archdeacon appreciated the Carmelite spirituality and asceticism as congenital to the traditions of the Malabar Church and requested Carmelite missionaries for the Church. Two years later in 1649 the same three Carmelites together with the Prior of the monastery of the S. Maria della Scala in Rome were again appointed procurators, who had to act jointly or separately in spiritual and temporal matters.²¹

²⁰ For details concerning the conflicts between Garcia and the Archdeacon, see J. Thekkedath, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J.*, 21-40.

²¹ The letters of the Archdeacon to the Pope and Propaganda Fide and the full documentation concerning the constitution of the Carmelites as procurators can be found in Archivum Congregationis de Propaganda Fide (hereafter APF), *Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali* (hereafter SOCG), vol.

During 1648-49 the Archdeacon also wrote letters to the Oriental patriarchs, namely to the Chaldean Patriarch in Mesopotamia, to the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch and to the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, describing the grievances of the St Thomas Christians. The Patriarchs were also requested to send Oriental bishops to India, since these Christians were without a bishop of their own rite and ecclesial heritage.

3. The Immediate Cause of the Revolt: the Arrival of Patriarch Mar Atallah

In spite of all the tragic events that happened in the history of the St Thomas Christians as described above, the revolt would not have occurred, if Archbishop (Patriarch) Atallah had not have come. Cyril Mar Atallah (Adeodatus) ibn-Issa, belonging to the Antiochene Jacobite Syrian Church, was born in Aleppo in Syria around the year 1590. He became a monk of the Order of St Anthony and later was appointed the Archbishop of Damascus, Homs and Nicodemia by the Antiochene Patriarch Ignatius Mar Hidayat-Allah. Due to the work of the Latin missionaries in Aleppo, on 18 October 1631 Archbishop Atallah and two priests made the profession of faith and became Catholics. According to the recommendations of the missionaries Mar Atallah arrived in Rome sometime in April 1632 and was accorded a warm welcome at the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. He stayed in the eternal city for about eighteen months, during which he also renewed the profession of faith. In 1633 with a brief of Pope Urban VIII and a letter of the said Congregation inviting the Patriarch of Antioch to full communion, he returned to his country to persuade the Patriarch and the bishops of his Church for union with Rome.²²

Persecuted by the Turkish authorities and maltreated by his own people for the sake of his Catholic faith, he lost the See of

191, ff. 535-566; see J. Kollaparambil, *The Archdeacon of All India..., 137; The St Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653*, 96-97.

²² The information concerning the Orthodoxy and identity of Atallah is based on the works, J. Thekkedath, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J*, 73-82; J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653*, 168-216.

Damascus, Homs and Nicodemia and had to shift his residence from place to place, Diarbekir, Husn-Ziad, Bagdad, and Isfahan in Persia. Notwithstanding his troublesome life he maintained communications with Propaganda Fide. Finally, he reached Cairo in Egypt sometime in the year 1643, from where he wanted to go to Rome again, after the reception of a favourable letter from Propaganda. While he was in Cairo the letter of Archdeacon Thomas requesting a bishop reached the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria in 1649. Giving the letter to Mar Atallah, who had no See, the Patriarch persuaded him to go to India. Mar Atallah, who persisted in the Catholic faith for about twenty years, accepted the suggestion of the Patriarch and set out from Cairo, probably at the end of 1651. It is believed that he had also obtained some kind of authorization from one of the three rival patriarchs of Antioch, who claimed to have occupied the patriarchal throne after the death of Patriarch Hidayat-Allah in 1639. Anyhow Atallah arrived at Surat in India in March 1652 and in August of the same year he reached Mylapore, where he was detained at the Jesuit College, on the order of the Inquisition of Goa, which acted upon the information furnished by the Jesuits. In July 1652 three clerics (*samas*) and a layman from Malabar reached Mylapore as pilgrims to the shrine of St Thomas. They happened to meet Atallah and to converse with him. When the pilgrims returned to Malabar, they carried with them a letter of Atallah, addressed to the St Thomas Christians, in which he claimed himself to be the "Patriarch of all India and China", sent by the order of "Pope Ignatius" and he had "all powers" to govern the St Thomas Christians.

3.1. The Letters of Atallah and the Conviction of the St Thomas Christians

There exist three letters, said to have been written by Mar Atallah. The first letter, deemed authentic by all historians, follows:

In the name of the Almighty and Eternal Essence, Patriarch St. Thomas, the Apostle, the peace of God, the Father, the blessing of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the descent of the Holy Spirit. Behold! I, Ignatius, Patriarch of All-India and China,

send to you a letter through the clerics who came here from your place. When you have read the letter diligently send me two priests and forty men. If, however, you wish to send them from your place, send them cautiously, quickly, and soon, so that seeing your people they would release me without hindrance. Come sons, listen to me and learn from me that I am empowered with all powers by my Lord, Pope Ignatius, who holds all powers. Now then, have no fear, for I have with me many treasures and other riches according to your necessities. Do your best, therefore, to get me to you. Meanwhile, in the name of Mary, the Mother of God, I inform you priests, clerics, and all the elders of the holy flock that I came to the city of Mylapore thinking that many people come here, and that priests would get me to your place of the Indias. In the year 1652 of our Lord, in the month of August, on Monday, I arrived at Mylapore in the monastery of the Jesuits. In the same monastery I stay, and they help me very much; may their reward increase here and there. Peace be with them, with you, and with us now and always. Amen. I, Ignatius, Patriarch of All-India and China.²³

In the second letter attributed to Atallah, but considered to be fabricated by Cassanar Ittithommen, authorization was granted to appoint a bishop, but only after the death of the bishop who governed at that time: "Therefore, elect twelve priests... when the bishop who governs your place dies, caste lots and select one of those twelve doctors, and make him rule as bishop. Have no fear, but believe me. And thus walk according to the custom of the Holy Roman Church...".²⁴ In the third (false) letter, called the patriarchal testament, to be read after the death of Mar Atallah or after the elapse of twelve years, he declared that on its reading

²³ APP, SOCG 234, f. 355v, English trans., J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653*, 108-109; Syriac copy in the same book, Appendix, no. 2, p. 252; Latin copy, SOCG 232, f. 2; printed Latin text in Eustachio di S. Maria, *Istoria della vita, virtù, e fatti illustri del ven. Monsignor Fr. Giuseppe di S. Maria Sebastiani*, Roma 1719, 25.

²⁴ APP, SOCG 234, f. 344, J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653*, 110.

Archdeacon Thomas would automatically become the Patriarch of All India.²⁵

In his letters Atallah styled himself as “Ignatius, Patriarch of All-India and China”. He called himself Ignatius, since all the other Patriarchs of Antioch were called by this name in honour of St Ignatius, the Martyr. Though a Catholic Archbishop, it does not seem that he was ever elected or appointed as the Patriarch of India and China. Prof. J. Kollaparambil, who controlled all the available documents in the Roman archives, concluded that apodictic proof is lacking on his claim of patriarchal title.²⁶ Perhaps during his detention in the Jesuit college at Mylapore he exaggerated his status to attract the St Thomas Christians and to be liberated before the Jesuits had handed over him to the Inquisition of Goa.

Atallah affirmed that he was empowered with all powers by his Lord, Pope Ignatius, who held all powers. By the expression “Pope Ignatius” Atallah meant only the Patriarch of Antioch, who was called Ignatius. But the St Thomas Christians in good faith misunderstood Pope Ignatius as the Roman Pontiff Pope Innocent X (1644-1655), who governed the universal Church at that epoch. Whatever be the objective truth, based on the letters of Atallah, widely circulated by the Archdeacon in the churches of Malabar and on the reports of the four pilgrims, who personally met and conversed with him, the St Thomas Christians formed their firm conviction that Atallah was a Catholic Patriarch sent by the Roman Pontiff to govern the Malabar Church.

The conviction of the St Thomas Christians that Atallah was sent by the Roman Pontiff was so definite and indelible that after the schism neither the religious and political authorities in Cochin, nor the Inquisitors of Goa, nor the apostolic Commissaries Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani and Hyacinth of St Vincent succeeded in shattering it. Finally, Pope Alexander VII, based on the reports of Sebastiani, realizing that the only way to make the St Thomas Christians realize the truth was to make a solemn papal declaration, in his letter *Gratum Nobis* of 20 January 1660 officially stated:

²⁵ Cf. APP, SOCG 234, f. 344, J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653*, 112.

²⁶ J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653*, 213.

And this, sons, we are persuaded to indicate to you, that a certain person called Ignatius, alias Atallah or Adeodatus, asserted to be a Patriarch, but a schismatic, who is said to have been captured in Mylapore, was not sent there by Innocent X of happy memory nor by any other Roman Pontiff our predecessor, but on the pretext of a forged apostolic legation he tried to deceive your simplicity, in order to implicate you in the errors in which he himself was miserably involved.²⁷

The very fact that the Pope himself considered it necessary to make such a statement attests to the truth that the St Thomas Christians acted in the good faith that Atallah was really a Catholic Patriarch sent by the Roman Pontiff.

3.2. Deportation of Atallah and the Open Revolt

The Portuguese authorities, considering Atallah to be a heretic and a schismatic, decided to deport him to Goa via Cochin and then to Portugal. The St Thomas Christians held a general meeting at Diamper and decided to send a letter to Archbishop Garcia, requesting his collaboration in bringing their Patriarch Mar Atallah to Malabar. Responding to the letter, Archbishop Garcia categorically stated: “Even if the Patriarch were sent by the Supreme Pontiff, we cannot grant him to you, for he has not brought the *beneplacet* of our King”.²⁸ The reply of Garcia appears to be juridically correct, since according to *ius patronatus* the Pope could not have appointed or sent any bishop to Portuguese territories, unless presented by the King of Portugal, but it outraged the Christians.

The efforts of the St Thomas Christians at least to visit the Patriarch, when the fleet with Atallah arrived in Cochin multiplied, but did not produce much fruit. As the vessel with Atallah on board was about to arrive at Cochin, the Archdeacon with a large number of priests and several thousands of St Thomas Christians assembled at Mattancherry. Several letters were sent to all the civil

²⁷ *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, pars prima, vol. 7, 42.

²⁸ APF, *SOCG*, 234, f. 338; cf. also the sworn testimony of many witnesses, APF, *SOCG* 232, ff. 117, 120v, 124v, 132v, 137, 141v, 352v.

and religious authorities in Cochin – the general captain, the city council, the cathedral chapter, the Commissary of the Holy Office of Inquisition and the superiors of all the religious orders – at least for an opportunity to visit Atallah, to examine his credentials and to verify his identity, promising that if he be found an impostor they would be the first to press for his punishment.²⁹ Almost all the religious and political authorities were in favour of allowing at least the Archdeacon and the representatives of the Christians to visit the Patriarch in the presence of the Commissary of the Holy Office and some religious of the city, but it did not happen, because of the staunch and intransigent opposition of Archbishop Garcia and the Jesuit fathers.³⁰ After two days of stay in Cochin waters, without entering the port the fleet set sail for Goa.

Though earnestly requested several times, Archbishop Garcia even refused to meet the Christians, who wanted to discuss the matter with him. Subsequently the outraged Archdeacon, priests and Christians entered the Church of Our Lady of Life at Matancherry and in front of a crucifix with lighted candles, - the Archdeacon and the leading priests touching a bible - all of them together made the solemn oath that they would no longer obey Archbishop Garcia or any other prelate from the Society of Jesus, nor would ever again admit the Jesuits into Malabar or to their churches. Further they chose Archdeacon Thomas as their governor and assigned to him four prominent priests as councillors; they promised to uphold his authority even at the cost of their lives, sanctioned the forfeiture of the high-caste status for non-observance of those resolutions and finally invited all to meet again at Edapally on the three-day fast of Jonas.³¹ This event, which

²⁹ See the testimony of several witnesses cited in J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653*, footnote, no. 38.

³⁰ For details, J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653*, 132-139; J. Thekkedath, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J.*, 55-59.

³¹ The content of the oath as gathered from several sources by J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution*, 140; with regard to the content of the oath see also, J. Thekkedath, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J.*, 60; Podipara P. J., *De Fontibus Juris Ecclesiastici Syro-Malankarenium, Fonti*, II-VIII, Vatican City 1937, 53; E. Tisserant *Eastern Christianity in India*, Bombay 1957, 79; X. Koodapuzha, *Christianity in India*, Kottayam 1998, 97; J.

took place on Friday, 3 January 1653, is generally known as the *Coonan Cross Oath*. The four councillors assigned to the Archdeacon were Chandy Parambil of Kuravilangad, George Bengur of Akaparambu, Chandy Kadavil of Kaduthuruthy and Ittithommen Anjilimootil of Kallicherry, belonging to the Southist community.

In accordance with the aforementioned decision, a large number of priests and people gathered for the celebration of *Moonnu Noyambu* at Edapally and on 5 February 1653, the last and most solemn day of the feast, it was declared that through a letter Patriarch Atallah had conferred upon Archdeacon Thomas all the powers of jurisdiction needed to govern the Malabar Church. The people cheerfully acclaimed and felicitated their new native governor and his four councillors. From that moment the Archdeacon began to exercise all powers of episcopal jurisdiction. With regard to the powers of Order, the people were told that the Archdeacon had another letter from Patriarch Atallah with directives to be implemented in case the Patriarch would be impeded by death or other causes from coming to Malabar. Hence they had to wait for definite news from Goa about the Patriarch's fate.

When the ship reached Goa, Atallah was handed over to the Inquisition, which ordered that he be kept under close custody in the Jesuit house there. But soon the Viceroy decided to send him to Portugal and hence he was put on board of the ship which set sail from Goa on 30 January 1653.

After having received reliable reports about the deportation of Atallah from Goa to Portugal, on 22 May 1653 at the church of Alangad, during the celebration of the feast of Ascension twelve priests imposed their hands on the Archdeacon and conferred on him "episcopal consecration", in accordance with the rite of a Chaldean Pontifical found in Malabar.³² Thereafter the

Perumthottam, *A Period of Decline of the Mar Thoma Christians*, (1712-1752), Kottayam 1994, 25.

³² For details, J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution*, 142-148; J. Thekkedath, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J.*, 61-62.

Archdeacon began to be called Archbishop Mar Thomas. The Christian faithful were made to believe that they had the power to “consecrate” the Archdeacon by virtue of the order of Atallah, whose false letter was also publicly read. After this event the Archdeacon acted as a real bishop, exercising also all the powers of Order, including priestly ordinations. It is believed that the false letters necessary for the episcopal consecration were fabricated by Cassnar Ittithommen Anjilimootil with the knowledge and consent of the Archdeacon, who was determined to defeat Archbishop Francis Garcia at any cost. The rest of the clergy and especially the Christian faithful who had firm trust in their leaders, fully believed that Patriarch Atallah sent by the Roman Pontiff had authorized the episcopal consecration by twelve priests and hence the Archdeacon was a true bishop.

In order to compete the story, now we return to Mar Atallah. The ship with Atallah on board reached Lisbon in July 1653. On 13 September 1653 the King of Portugal decided to send him to Rome. En route to Rome he died in Paris on 26 March 1654 and was buried there. Atallah, who suffered so long for his Catholic faith, breathed his last without knowing the fact that he had provoked a schism in the Church of St Thomas Christians who had remained united in the Catholic Church until his arrival.

3.3. A Schism Founded on Objectively False Premises, in Violation of Catholic and Orthodox Canon Law

Anyone who objectively evaluates the indescribable sufferings of the St Thomas Christians which lasted for more than a century (1500-1653) would be constrained to admit that an act of protest against the “occupying forces” was justified. However the Oath and the subsequent episcopal “consecration” do not seem to be based on objective facts. Though a Catholic Archbishop, Mar Atallah was not the Patriarch of All India and China, as he qualified himself. Moreover it is absolutely certain that he was not really sent by the Roman Pontiff, as the St Thomas Christians were firmly convinced of. In this regard Atallah did not deceive the St Thomas Christians, when he affirmed: “I am empowered with all powers by my Lord, Pope Ignatius, who holds all powers”. In fact, as we have seen above, he referred to his Lord, Pope Ignatius, the

Patriarch of Antioch and not to Pope Innocent X (1644-1655), who governed the universal Church. Since the St Thomas Christians were not allowed to visit Atallah and to examine his credentials, they were unable to ascertain the truth. If such a permission had been granted and the truth had been given a chance to prevail, most probably the *Coonan Cross Oath*, and especially the subsequent schism could have been avoided.

The first letter of Atallah considered authentic by the historians did not speak about conferring jurisdiction on the Archdeacon nor about the creation of any bishop. Hence everything was done according to the directives of the false letters fabricated by Cassanar Ittithommen and attributed to Mar Atallah, with the intention of deceiving the clergy and the simple Christian faithful. Even according to one of the false letters (the second letter cited above) authorization was granted “to caste lots and select one of those twelve doctors, and make him rule as bishop” only after the death of the ruling bishop. Francis Garcia died only on 3 December 1659, more than five years after the undesirable events and hence the act of “consecration” was *ultra vires*, even according to the said letter, which in fact used the expression “make him rule as bishop”, and not ordain him bishop.

No explanation is needed to understand that the episcopal “consecration” conferred by twelve priests on Archdeacon Thomas was invalid. According to the whole tradition of the Church, Eastern and Western, Catholic and Orthodox, no bishop can be consecrated without the imposition of hands of at least one episcopal consecrator. The decrees and canons of the first seven ecumenical councils and the canons of the local synods approved by the second canon of the Council in Trullo (692) and ratified by the first canon of the ecumenical Council of Nicaea II (787) - which constitute the basic canon law of the Orthodox Churches - are categorical in stating that a bishop should be ordained by three bishops.³³ At that epoch and today no Orthodox Church in the whole of Christendom, whether of Alexandrian, Antiochene,

³³ Cf. Apostolic Canon 1; Council of Nicaea (325) cc. 4, 6; Synod of Antioch (341) cc. 16, 19, 23; Council of Constantinople (394) c. 1; Carthage (419) cc. 13, 19; Nicaea II (887) c. 3.

Chaldean or Byzantine tradition, maintains that a bishop can be consecrated by priests. Hence, it is both against the Catholic and Orthodox canonical and doctrinal principles that through false patriarchal and papal documents the clergy and the Christian faithful were induced to the firm conviction that the episcopal consecration conferred on Archdeacon Thomas Parambil was legitimate and valid.

4. An Oath against the Jesuits of Padroado

It will be evident to anyone, who examines the original content of the *Coonan* Cross Oath that it was exclusively against the Jesuit Archbishop Francis Garcia and the Jesuit missionaries. Why was the Oath against the Jesuits? The Jesuits, who had been working among the St Thomas Christians since 1577 and who erected a seminary at Vaipicotta in 1582 for the Western formation of the clergy, turned out to be the greatest accusers of the St Thomas Christians and their Metropolitan Mar Abraham, whom they considered a Nestorian heretic and schismatic.³⁴ The Jesuits were behind the preparation, convocation and celebration of the Synod of Diamper (1599) imposed upon the St Thomas Christians by the Archbishop of Goa, under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae*. After the Synod of Diamper all the three bishops: Francis Ros, Stephen Brito and Francis Garcia, who governed the Church and implemented the decisions and decrees of the Synod were Jesuits. After the beginning of the Latin governance all the Latin missionaries who worked among the St Thomas Christians were Jesuits, because the Jesuit Archbishops and the Fathers, in order to maintain their monopoly, did not permit the religious of other orders to enter Malabar, in spite of the order of Pope Urban

³⁴ In order to understand this point it is enough to read the works of Francis Ros S J, *De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui in hac India Orientali versantur*, annotated by I. Hausherr, *Orientalia Christiana*, vol. XI (1), n. 40, Rome 1928, 5-35; "Enformaçao do Prelado do Serra", *Documenta Indica*, 16 (1984) 1029-1039, English trans. in G. Nedungatt, ed., *The Synod of Diamper Revisited*, Rome 2001, 284-294.

VIII issued on 22 February 1633.³⁵ Naturally the St Thomas Christians held the Jesuits responsible for all the evils and sinister events that happened in Malabar and which we have described above.

The St Thomas Christians knew that it was the Jesuits who detained their Patriarch Atallah sent by the Pope in their college at Mylapore. Furthermore, when all the religious and civil authorities in Cochin including the general captain and the Commissary of the Inquisition of Goa were favourable to allowing at least a few representatives of the St Thomas Christians to visit Atallah and verify his credentials, only the Jesuit Archbishop Francis Garcia, together with his Jesuit companions staunchly opposed such a move, threatening even the Portuguese civil authorities with serious consequences, if Atallah was permitted to land in Cochin. In truth it was evident to all the St Thomas Christians that only the Jesuits were responsible for the deportation of their Patriarch sent by the Roman Pontiff. Hence, naturally the Oath was directed against the Jesuit Archbishop Garcia and the Jesuit missionaries.

There was no reason for making an oath against the Roman Pontiff or the Church of Rome, because the Jesuits who perpetrated all the wrongs, and especially the deportation of Atallah, were not sent by the Pope, nor they depended upon him. At that epoch the Portuguese Padroado was an independent and autonomous institute for mission work, which enjoyed absolute monopoly in newly discovered lands until the erection of the new competitor, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in 1622. According to *ius patroantus*, the King of Portugal was the political and religious head of the East Indies, who had practically exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Portuguese territories. In fact the Jesuit bishops of the St Thomas Christians were selected and presented by the King of Portugal. All the Jesuit missionaries in Malabar were selected, sent and paid by him, also for safeguarding the political, colonial, military and economic interests of Portugal. Hence even the indirect responsibility of what the Jesuits perpetrated in Malabar

³⁵ Cf. The brief *Ex debito Pastoralis, Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 48-49.

could not be attributed to the Pope of Rome, but only to the King of Portugal.

On the occasion of the Oath, the St Thomas Christians issued a manifesto and exposed it in public places, stating that they rejected Archbishop Francis Garcia and the Jesuits because the latter disobeyed the Pope's orders by deporting the Patriarch whom the Pope had sent to govern the Malabar Church.³⁶ Furthermore a letter written by 13 priests and 31 laymen of the Archdeacon's group after the *Coonan Cross Oath* to the captain and governor of Cochin, fully confirms that the Oath was not in any way against the Pope or the Church of Rome, but only against Archbishop Garcia and the Jesuits who, as the St Thomas Christians honestly believed, defied the Pope's orders and became "schismatics" by deporting a Catholic Patriarch to Portugal whom the Pope had sent to govern the Malabar Church. The relevant paragraphs of this long letter are as follows:

To the very powerful Captain and Governor of the city and fortress of Cochin.

For the sake of Our Lord Jesus Christ, of His Blessed Mother the Virgin Mary, Our Lady, and of all the saints of the heavenly court, and on behalf of the Supreme Pontiff and of His Majesty, be pleased to hear the complaints of the St. Thomas Christians.

The St. Thomas Christians, priests and lay people, from the time of their conversion by the glorious St. Thomas to the present have been living only by the law of Christ and never had any association with the Jews or Moors, neither did they become renegades as the other nations do. They always lived obedient to the Supreme Pontiff and to the Holy Mother Church of Rome...

We, therefore, called meetings and resolved, "He who pays no attention to the order of the Supreme Pontiff and of the Holy Mother Church of Rome is not our prelate, nor shall we obey the said prelate. And with the Fathers of St. Paul (Jesuits), enemies of us and of the Holy Mother Church of

³⁶ See *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (hereafter ARSI), *Goa-Mal.*, 68, f. 102.

Rome, we shall have no friendship, nor shall we pay any attention to the archbishop of their order, until we shall see the Patriarch with our own eyes".

Moreover some of our people who went to Sam Thomé (Mylapore), met the said Patriarch, and he sent to us through them a letter and a patent, seeing which we govern ourselves for him. And we have made an archbishop by the order and command of the Patriarch, who came by the mandate of the blessed Supreme Pontiff and of the Holy Mother Church of Rome...

Moreover, Mr. Captain, we beg Your Grace for the service of God and love of this Christianity work hard to bring back the Patriarch whom the Fathers of St. Paul have taken away. Then the truth shall be known and this whole Christianity shall obey. And in case the Patriarch cannot be produced, he having been killed by the Fathers of St. Paul, let another person of any of the four religious orders come by the order of the Supreme Pontiff, one who knows Syriac and can teach us and help us with our Offices, but except the Fathers of St. Paul whom we do not at all want, because they are enemies of us and of the Holy Mother Church of Rome. Except that let anyone come and we are prepared to obey with no hesitation...

Again we say to Your Grace for the sake of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of His divine wounds, for the sake of the Supreme Pontiff and of the Holy Mother Church of Rome work hard to get the Patriarch back and to make us live in peace and tranquillity, because we always lived obedient as children of the Holy Mother Church of Rome, and so we desire very much to live as before. For this reason, we beg Your Grace for the wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ and for the love of this Christianity pay attention to these our complaints. If you won't pay attention, we make the complaint to the Holy Mother Church of Rome, so that she be our witness.³⁷

³⁷ Archivo Histórico do Estado da India, Goa, *Livros das Monções* 25, ff. 120-121; English trans., J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution*, 159-163; the Jesuits are called the Fathers of St Paul, because their famous college in Goa was named St Paul's.

In this letter those who made the Oath categorically stated the reason for their disobedience to the Jesuit Archbishop Garcia, "He who pays no attention to the order of the Supreme Pontiff and of the Holy Mother Church of Rome is not our prelate, nor shall we obey the said prelate". Moreover they qualified the Jesuits as "enemies of us and of the Holy Mother Church of Rome", because according them the Jesuits, who for several years constantly disobeyed the Pope by the exclusion of the religious of other orders from Malabar, still challenged the authority of the Pope by deporting the Patriarch sent by him. In contrast to the disobedient Jesuits the authors of the letter proclaim themselves as obedient sons of the Pope, since they made "an archbishop by the order and command of the Patriarch, who came by the mandate of the blessed Supreme Pontiff and of the Holy Mother Church of Rome". They made it abundantly clear that they were prepared to obey another person (bishop) of any other four religious orders present in India at that epoch, if he be sent by the "order of the Supreme Pontiff". Moreover they solemnly declared: "we always lived obedient as children of the Holy Mother Church of Rome, and so we desire very much to live as before". Enormous confusion exists with regard to different aspects of the *Coonan Cross Oath*, but one thing is absolutely clear: originally the Oath was against the Jesuits and not against the Roman Pontiff and the Church of Rome.

Three years after the Oath against the Jesuits, the Commissary of the Inquisition of Goa, Fr John de Lisboa OP, came to Malabar to mediate a solution. Persuaded by the Commissary, on 30 June 1656 Archdeacon Thomas sent a letter to the Inquisitors of Goa, in which he admitted that he was not a validly consecrated bishop. He also confessed that the Christians and he did everything out of obedience to the letter of the Patriarch sent by the Pope and they did not have the slightest intention to be disobedient or to break away from Rome.³⁸ Even Archbishop Francis Garcia, against whom the Oath was mainly directed, writing to the Apostolic Commissary Hyacinth of St Vincent OCD in 1658, stated that there was nothing against the Pope and even the leaders were publicly proclaiming their adherence to Rome. He specified:

³⁸ See the letter of the Archdeacon in APF, *SOCG* 232, ff. 12-15.

I know also that they never denied obedience to the Supreme Pontiff, at least in the external forum...it is sufficiently clear that they profess that the Armenian (Mar Aatallah) was sent by the Supreme Pontiff of Rome, and that everything the Archdeacon did, he did in the name of the said Armenian, sent as they say, by the Supreme Pontiff of Rome. Hence at least in the external forum it is needless to work for reducing them to the obedience of the Supreme Pontiff, for so far they have not denied it.³⁹

In brief the Oath was not a schismatic act against the Roman Pontiff and the Church of Rome, nor against all Latin missionaries, but only against the Jesuit Archbishop Garcia and the Jesuit missionaries, who, as agents of the Padroado, jeopardized the Eastern rite, the law of Thomas, as well as the autonomy and ecclesial heritage of the Indian Church. Moreover, at that time those who took part in the Oath had no intention of abandoning the Catholic faith or of breaking communion with the Roman Pontiff. Hence the St Thomas Christians who made the Oath, Archdeacon Thomas Parambil, the head of the community who led it to such a drastic act and even Archbishop Francis Garcia, against whom the Oath was principally directed were surprisingly unanimous in affirming that the Oath was not against the Roman Pontiff. However, some Western missionaries who did not know the exact circumstances, content and nature of the Oath, and after many years, some Indian Christians began to interpret the Oath as an act against Rome.

5. The Intervention of Rome and the Apostolic Mission of Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani

The efforts of the religious and political authorities in India, like the Viceroy of the Portuguese Indian State, the Commissaries of the Inquisition of Goa Fr John Rangel OP and Fr John de Lisboa OP, to resolve the crisis failed, mainly because Archbishop Garcia and the Jesuits played all the tricks possible to foil any agreement,

³⁹ See the letter of Archbishop Garcia SJ, ARSI, *Goa-Mal.*, 68, f. 326; see also the letter of Garcia to the Pope, dated 3 June 1659, APF, *SOCG* 232, 298r & v.

which was detrimental to their monopoly in Malabar. Indeed, in order to defeat the efforts of the Inquisition of Goa, on 26 April 1556 Archbishop Garcia declared Archdeacon Thomas Parambil excommunicated and deposed from his office on the charge of usurpation of jurisdiction and appointed Fr Kunjumathai Kunnel as the Archdeacon.⁴⁰ After evaluating the whole situation Prof. Joseph Thekkedath, a Salesian missionary, who had no reason to be partial in his judgement, rightly observes:

Also the way in which Garcia handled the situation after the outbreak of the general rebellion of 1653, was far from satisfactory. His excessive desire to save his honour and that of the Jesuit missionaries, and retain the Serra (Malabar) as the close preserve of the Society of Jesus, made him impervious to all the suggestions that were made by the authorities of Goa to appoint a non-Jesuit governor for the Serra and to allow the other religious to go there to explain to the people that Atallah had not been sent from Rome. The quick application of the drastic remedy would in all probability have saved the situation. But the positions became hardened as time passed.⁴¹

In brief, all the attempts of the political and religious authorities in India to resolve the crisis failed. The Archdeacon continued to exercise all the episcopal powers including ordination to the priesthood. In the course of time the situation became more tense, complicated and catastrophic, since both parties attempted to defeat the other even with the help of Hindu kings and native princes who supported one or the other depending on the quantity of the bribes received.

It was only after the lapse of three years that the Roman Pontiff Pope Alexander VII and the Holy See were informed of the tragic events in Malabar. Fr Hyacinth De Magistris SJ, a staunch supporter and procurator of Archbishop Francis Garcia, after his successful missions in Goa and Lisbon for defending the position of the Jesuits and for impeding the religious of other orders from

⁴⁰ For full details, see J. Thekkedath, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J.*, 83-100.

⁴¹ J. Thekkedath, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J.*, 163.

coming to Malabar, reached Rome in August 1655 and informed the Pope and the Congregation of Propaganda Fide of the rebellion in Malabar. News came also through the Carmelite missionaries, who had a monastery in Goa. As we have indicated above, in 1647-1649 Archdeacon Thomas constituted the Carmelites as his procurators and through them sent letters to the Pope and Propaganda Fide. Since the Carmelite priest who carried these letters died on the way to Portugal, these letters were submitted to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide only in 1655, that is about two years after the *Coonan Cross Oath* and the schism.⁴² After several discussions, transcending the opposition of the Jesuits, Propaganda Fide decided to send a Carmelite Apostolic Commissary to Malabar, since in the aforementioned letters the Archdeacon expressed great esteem for the discalced Carmelites and their spirituality.

5.1. The First Mission of Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani

Since Sebastiani gave a detailed account of his mission and activities in his books which will be presented in the first two parts of this work, here we will only give a brief summary of the facts, in so far as this will enable the readers to comprehend better the events. In accordance with the aforementioned decision, Propaganda Fide selected the well known Italian Carmelite Fr Hyacinth of St Vincent OCD as the Apostolic Commissary and three other Carmelites: Marcel of St Ives, Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani and Vincent Mary of St Catherine of Siena as his companions. Later, Pope Alexander VII, considering the great importance of the mission, foreseeing the enormous difficulties and dangers of the journey and the possible obstacles from the Portuguese Crown on account of the Padroado rights, decided to divide the missionaries named above into two groups and to send two Commissaries through two different routes to Malabar. The supreme zeal and the pastoral prudence of the Pope are manifested in his decision to send two Apostolic Commissaries simultaneously

⁴² Cf. J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653*, 98.

so that if one died on the way or was impeded, the other would reach the destination and resolve the crisis.

The Pope appointed Fr Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani, one of the three chosen as companions of Fr Hyacinth as the second Apostolic Commissary. Fr Hyacinth, had to go through Lisbon, namely with the knowledge and consent of the King of Portugal, respecting the terms of *ius patronatus*, whereas Sebastiani had to travel through the Middle East and reach Malabar as early as possible. Both Apostolic Commissaries were granted equal powers, faculties, directives and instructions, as well as apostolic letters of identical content. Since the theme of our study is the apostolic mission of Sebastiani, we give here a list of letters which Pope Alexander VII gave him, with the indication of their content. Both the original and the English translation of these documents will be presented in part three.

1. “Cum nos”, 19 January 1656, a letter addressed to all the Christian faithful, both ecclesiastics and laypeople. The Pope earnestly exhorted and paternally required all the Christian faithful to sustain Joseph of St Mary and his companions in their journey and to assist them in every way possible.⁴³

2. “Cum sicut”, 24 January 1656, the brief appointing Joseph of St Mary as the Apostolic Commissary. The Pope ordered him to go to Malabar with two or three companions to gather exact information concerning the division in the Malabar Church. The Apostolic Commissary was granted the faculty to lead back Archdeacon Thomas and his followers to the obedience of Archbishop Garcia and to reinstate them in their pristine state, after absolving them from censures and excommunications.⁴⁴

3. “Ad aures nostras”, 1 February 1656, an exhortation to Archdeacon Thomas. The Pope officially informed Archdeacon Thomas of the appointment of Joseph of St Mary as Apostolic

⁴³ *Bullarium diplomatum et privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, vol. 16, 112-113; *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 78; original Latin text and the English trans., part 3, no. 1.

⁴⁴ *Bullarium diplomatum et privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, vol. 16, 125-126, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 79-80; part 3, no. 2.

Commissary and required him to depose the title which he had claimed unjustly and invalidly.⁴⁵

4. “*Indigna sunt*”, 18 February 1656, another letter addressed to Archdeacon Thomas. In more harsh terms the Pope advised the Archdeacon to avoid division in the Malabar Church, which he should protect from every stain and harm.⁴⁶

5. “*Percrebuit vos*”, 19 February 1656, a letter addressed to all the Christian faithful, who together with Archdeacon Thomas withdrew from obedience to Archbishop Garcia. The Pope entreated and commanded them to abandon Archdeacon Thomas and to return without delay to Archbishop Garcia, their true and legitimate pastor. Moreover, the Pope enjoined them to receive Joseph of St Mary reverently and to obey him earnestly.⁴⁷

6. “*In gravissimo*”, 19 February 1656, a letter to the clergy and the Christian faithful who remained faithful to Archbishop Garcia, their legitimate pastor. The Pope highly praised them and asked them to persevere in obedience to the Archbishop, as well as to help the same Archbishop and Joseph of St Mary to recompose unity.⁴⁸

7. “*Relatum est*”, 19 February 1656, an exhortation to Archbishop Garcia. The Pope asked him to receive Joseph of St Mary benevolently, endeavour to lead back the lost sheep to the sheepfold and to receive those returning benignly like a good shepherd.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Bullarium diplomatum et privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, vol. 16, 132-133; *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 81; part 3, no. 3.

⁴⁶ Only in *Bullarium carmelitanum*, Pars tertia, Romae 1768, 579; part 3, no. 4.

⁴⁷ *Bullarium diplomatum et privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, vol. 16, 135-136; *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, vol. 7, 34; *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 82; part 3, no. 5.

⁴⁸ *Bullarium diplomatum et privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, vol. 16, 136; *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 83; part 3, no. 6.

⁴⁹ *Bullarium diplomatum et privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, vol. 16, 136-137; *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, vol. 7, 35; *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 84; part 3, no. 7.

8. "Cum, pro componendis", 19 February 1656, a letter to the chapter of the Diocese of Cochin. The Pope asked the canons of Cochin to receive Joseph of St Mary benignly and help him to reinstate peace and concord in the Malabar Church, leading back the separated Christians to the obedience of Archbishop Garcia.⁵⁰

9. Two letters dated 19 February 1656 and addressed to the kings of Mongolia and Persia respectively. The Pope officially informed both of these kings about the mission of Joseph of St Mary and asked them to facilitate his quick and safe passage through their kingdoms.⁵¹

Fr Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani and his companions: Fr Vincent Mary of St Catherine, Fr Raphael of St Alexis and Friar Aloysius of St Francis departed from Rome on 22 February 1656. By the time the expedition reached Mount Carmel Fr Raphael of St Alexis was too exhausted and hence he did not proceed to India. Travelling through the Mediterranean Sea, Syria, Iran and the Arabian Sea, Sebastiani and the rest of his companions reached Surat in India in October 1657. On their way to Malabar, when they reached Banda near Goa, Fr Mathew of St Joseph OCD, a member of the Carmelite monastery in Goa, joined them as a substitute for the aforementioned Fr Raphael, who failed to come to India.

On reaching Malabar, on 5 February 1657 Sebastiani and his companions immediately went to Edappally, since they already knew that Archdeacon Thomas resided there. However, Sebastiani was allowed to meet the Archdeacon only seven days after his arrival and that too, not in his capacity as the Apostolic Commissary, but as a simple Carmelite. Soon the Archdeacon dismissed the Commissary without allowing him to discuss the matter, stating that everything would be decided in an assembly of priests, which he would convoke. Since the Archdeacon did not

⁵⁰ *Bullarium diplomatum et privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, vol. 16, 137-138; *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 85; part 3, no. 8.

⁵¹ Only in *Bullarium carmelitanum*, 581-582; since these letters have no ecclesiastical importance they are not included among the documents presented in part 3.

keep his promise of convoking the meeting, after few weeks Sebastiani himself strove to convene one under his presidency with the help of some favourable priests and churches. Being aware of the dangers of such a move the Archdeacon again promised to convoke the said assembly of priests, but because of his delaying tactics it took place at Edapally only on 19 May 1657, three months after the arrival of the Commissary. The assembly was arranged in such a way that mainly staunch supporters of the Archdeacon participated in it. The Archdeacon and his group demanded that he be immediately consecrated bishop. Although the mandate of Sebastiani on the occasion of the first mission did not contain the faculty to consecrate bishops, he did not altogether deny such an eventuality, but required that the Archdeacon should obey first: "let him first demonstrate his worthiness with the virtues and necessary qualities and then the episcopal dignity would be procured". The meeting ended without any tangible result because the Archdeacon and his group insisted that if he could not be ordained bishop, then there was nothing to be done.

Without even the possibility of reading the papal briefs Sebastiani went to Cochin and took residence inside the fortress, after informing the Archdeacon and his representatives that if they had a change of mind they could approach him. The Commissary, desperate and afflicted even thought of abandoning the mission. However, later the meeting of Edapally turned out to be very fruitful, because by publicly demanding that the Archdeacon should be consecrated bishop, the Archdeacon himself and his adherents admitted that he was not a true bishop and hence those ordained by him were not real priests.

From the fortress of Cochin Sebastiani continued his efforts, contacting prominent priests and churches through letters and messengers. Finally on 8 September 1657 he was able to convene a meeting at Muttom, in which the important priests and representatives of 23 churches participated. Later, upon the request of the vicars of the prominent churches of Alangad and Vaipicotta, who ensured that the Archdeacon would make his submission, the assembly was transferred to Mattancherry and then to Alangad. All such meetings ended without making any definitive resolution because even the majority of the St Thomas

Christians, who were ready to accept the Apostolic Commissary, were not willing to divide their Church and did not allow the Commissary to proceed, without obtaining the submission of the Archdeacon, who on the other hand defeated all such efforts and excused himself from taking part in the said meetings at the last moment.

Just like Sebastiani, the other Apostolic Commissary Fr Hyacinth of St Vincent, together with his companion Fr Marcel of St Ives left Rome in February 1656 and reached Lisbon in the beginning of August 1656, but King John IV of Portugal did not permit them to proceed to India, because he considered the mission of the Carmelites from Rome an infringement upon his Padroado rights. Only after the death of the King in November 1656 and the enthronement of queen Luisa Gusmão, were they able to set sail from Lisbon on 28 March 1657. Naturally the news about their arrival in Goa in November 1657 was a great consolation for Sebastiani, who had plans to leave Malabar.

The difficult ecclesiastical situation in Malabar at that epoch can be summarized as follows. The mandate given to Sebastiani by Pope Alexander VII was to lead Archdeacon Thomas and the St Thomas Christians back to the obedience of their true and legitimate pastor Archbishop Francis Garcia. Due to the works of Sebastiani, although many churches and priests promised to abandon the Archdeacon and to accept the authority of the Apostolic Commissary, they categorically stated that they would never subject themselves to Archbishop Garcia, against whom the *Coonan Cross Oath* was made. On the contrary, the said Archbishop (and the Jesuits) insisted that the obedient churches should be immediately subjected to him, maintaining that the St Thomas Christians could not be obedient to Rome, without being obedient to their legitimate Jesuit Archbishop. The Archdeacon and his adherents demanded that he should be immediately consecrated bishop. Some Portuguese felt that the intention of Sebastiani was to infringe upon the Padroado rights of their king, by striving to do away with the authority of Archbishop Garcia in Malabar. In these circumstances the only possibility was to go to Rome to give a comprehensive report about the whole situation in Malabar and to propose appropriate remedies for the resolution of

the crisis. In fact, Sebastiani took such a decision, knowing that the other Apostolic Commissary Hyacinth reached Goa.

Having realized the impossibility of obtaining the participation of the Archdeacon, ten months after the arrival of Sebastiani an assembly was held at the Church of St Thomas near Cochin from 14 to 18 December 1657, in which the prominent priests and the representatives of more than 32 churches participated. Finally, in the assembly the papal briefs were read and Sebastiani was officially received as the Apostolic Commissary sent by the Supreme Pontiff. On 15 December 1657 the representatives of the said churches made the solemn profession of faith, in which among other things they promised not to accept Thomas Parambil or any other person as bishop, unless he was validly consecrated and given by the Apostolic See. Afterwards Sebastiani revealed to the assembly his intention to go to Rome for serious affairs and with the consent of the assembly appointed Fr Mathew of St Joseph as his delegate until the arrival of the other Apostolic Commissary Fr Hyacinth in Malabar.

After making all the necessary arrangements, together with his companion Fr Vincent Mary of St Catharine of Siena, Sebastiani left for Rome from Cochin on 7 January 1658. Fr Mathew of St Joseph acted as the delegate until the other Apostolic Commissary Fr. Hyacinth of St Vincent and his companion Fr Marcel of St Ives reached Cochin on 10 March 1658. Various ecclesiastical and political circumstances such as the conflicts with Garcia and the Jesuits, the machinations of Archdeacon Thomas Parambil, the public entry of Knjumathai Kunnel, the new Archdeacon appointed by Francis Garcia into Kaduthuruthy, rendered his efforts fruitless. Because of serious sickness Fr Hyacinth returned to Cochin, where he died on 10 February 1661 and was solemnly buried in the cathedral church of Cochin. A few days before his death, Hyacinth appointed his companion Fr Marcel of St Ives as delegate and granted him all the necessary faculties. He exercised the powers of the Commissary until the second arrival of Sebastiani in Malabar.

5.2. The Second Mission of Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani

Sebastiani and his companion Vincent Mary reached Rome on 22 February 1659 and informed Propaganda Fide and Pope Alexander VII of the whole situation. Based on the reports of Sebastiani, being better informed of the fact that the *Coonan Cross Oath* was against Archbishop Francis Garcia and the Jesuits, respecting the position of the St Thomas Christians that they would never again subject themselves to the said Archbishop, the great Pontiff decided to give them a non-Jesuit and non-Portuguese bishop in the person of Sebastiani, even in violation of the Padroado rights of the King of Portugal and took the extraordinary measure of appointing him Apostolic Commissary and Administrator of the Archdiocese of Cranganore, even if the See was not vacant, in order to liberate the St Thomas Christians from schism and divisions.

Foreseeing the possible obstacles from the Portuguese King and his Jesuit missionaries, Sebastiani was secretly consecrated as titular Bishop of Hierapolis in the private chapel of the Pope at the apostolic palace on 15 December 1659. On the directive of the Pope, this time also Sebastiani selected three companions: Angel of St Mary, John Thaddeus of St Brigit and Godfrey of St Andrew. On the occasion of the second mission of Sebastiani Pope Alexander VII issued five important briefs and the Congregation of Propaganda Fide wrote one. Sebastiani was granted ample powers to deal with the situation, even the faculty to consecrate one or two native bishops, something unheard of at that epoch, especially in countries under Portuguese dominion. In brief Pope Alexander VII did the maximum possible at the circumstances of the time to uproot the schism, although some acts and omissions of his predecessors contributed to the outbreak of the rebellion.

Here we present the aforementioned documents with the indication of their essential content, although their original text and the English translation are given in part three.

1. “*Iniuncti nobis*”, 17 December 1659, the papal brief appointing Joseph of St Mary as the Apostolic Commissary and the Apostolic Administrator in the Archdiocese of the St Thomas Christians, whether Archbishop Garcia was dead or alive. The

Pope granted him ample and innumerable faculties to deal with any situation in Malabar.⁵²

2. "Pro commissa", 14 December 1659, by this letter the Pope granted faculty to Joseph of St Mary to appoint one or two priests as bishop(s) in Malabar and to confer on him or them episcopal consecration with the assistance of two priests and to appoint him or them as vicar(s) apostolic.⁵³

3. "Remeante ad", 20 January 1660, a letter to the Inquisition of Goa. The Pope highly praised the Inquisitors of Goa for the help rendered to Joseph of St Mary on the occasion of his first mission and paternally exhorted them to assist him again with their protection, counsel and favour.⁵⁴

4. "Gratum nobis", 20 January 1660, a letter to the St Thomas Christians. The Pope officially informed the St Thomas Christians of his decision again to send Joseph of St Mary to Malabar as Apostolic Commissary or Administrator and advised them to receive him as the delegate of the Pope and of the Apostolic See. Moreover, in this letter the Pope attested that Atallah was not sent by his predecessor Innocent X, nor by any other Roman Pontiff.⁵⁵

5. "Magna accessione", 20 January 1660, a letter to Archbishop Garcia. The Pope ordered the Archbishop (already died on 3 December 1659) to give up the government of his diocese and to abstain from episcopal ministry.⁵⁶

⁵² *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, pars prima, vol. 1, 314-317; part 3, no. 9.

⁵³ *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, pars prima, vol. 1, 317-318; *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 96; part 3, no. 10.

⁵⁴ *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, pars prima, vol. 7, 40-41; Giuseppe di Santa Maria Sebastiani, *Seconda Speditio all'Indie Orientali*, 42; *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 97; part 3, no. 11.

⁵⁵ *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, pars prima, vol. 7, 41-42; Giuseppe di Santa Maria Sebastiani, *Seconda Speditio all'Indie Orientali*, 70-72; *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 98; part 3, no. 12.

⁵⁶ This unpublished letter can be found in *Archivum Secretum Vaticanum*, Secr. Brev. 1362, f. 297. We have not presented this letter in the appendix, because it lost its relevance with the death of Garcia.

6. "Licet ex iis", 20 January 1660, a letter of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide to Archbishop Garcia and the St Thomas Christians. The Congregation referred to the grave task undertaken by it for the benefit of the Christians of Malabar, despite much expenditure and inconvenience. It strongly urged the said Christians to look to the salvation of their souls and requested them to comply with the repeated appeals of the Vicar of Christ.⁵⁷

Travelling through the Middle East, Sebastiani reached Surat in India on 21 January 1661. One of his companions Fr Angel of St Mary died before the ship had reached Surat. With his other two companions, after making all the possible arrangements in Goa for the success of the mission, Sebastiani reached Cochin on 14 May 1661. After his second arrival Sebastiani adopted all the means available at that epoch, such as moral persuasion, intimidation, military threat as well as bribing of native kings for the reduction of the non-obedient churches and for leading the Archdeacon and his adherents back to the mother Church.

European countries like England, Portugal, Holland and France, which now pretend to be the prophets of democracy, freedom and human rights, had waged war against each other even in colonized countries like India, provoking the most cruel massacre of local soldiers and populations and the total devastation of their kingdoms and cities, which had to side with and fight for one or the other colonial power for survival. The Dutch who had ousted the Portuguese from Ceylon in 1657 were rapidly advancing through the coasts of South India. They captured Tutticorin in 1657, the Fishery Coast in 1658, Quilon in December 1661 and Cranganore on 15 January 1662. After three years of unsuccessful attacks, finally on 7 January 1663 the Dutch confiscated Cochin. All the Portuguese, both soldiers and civilians, were either killed or expelled.

Though Sebastiani was an Italian, the Dutch General Rycklof Vvangoens, ordered him to quit Malabar, granting him only a few days for making the necessary arrangements. It was not the policy

⁵⁷ *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, pars prima, vol. 7, 41; Giuseppe di Santa Maria Sebastiani, *Seconda Speditio all'Indie Orientali*, 72-73; *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 99; part 3, no. 13.

of the Dutch, predominantly Protestant in faith, to tolerate Catholic bishops and missionaries in their territories. All the attempts of Sebastiani to remain in Malabar failed, because of the intransigent position of the Dutch authorities. Hence, in accordance with the faculties granted to him by Pope Alexander VII Sebastiani decided to consecrate a native bishop for the St Thomas Christians before his departure from Malabar.

Sebastiani convoked the representatives of the obedient churches at Kaduthuruthy, who unanimously elected a cousin of Archdeacon Thomas, Fr Alexander Parambil, Vicar of St Mary's church at Kuravilangad, as their bishop. In fact, Alexander, the most virtuous and worthy priest in Malabar, was the most pleasing candidate to Sebastiani himself. On 1 February 1663 Sebastiani consecrated Fr Alexander Parambil as titular Bishop of Megara and then definitively and publicly excommunicated Archdeacon Thomas and his companion Ittithommen Anjilimootil from the Church.

The St Thomas Christians always earnestly desired a solution to the crisis which would not divide their Church and hence they prevented Sebastiani from excommunicating the Archdeacon until the last moment. But the unstable, non-canonical and reckless comportment of the Archdeacon foiled all the attempts of his own people to recompose unity. The Archdeacon violated all agreements and accords, never kept his word nor implemented decisions, excused himself from meetings and assemblies at the last moment, disseminated several lies against the Apostolic Commissaries, paid no heed to the admonitions and counsels of the authorities in Cochin, Goa and especially of the Roman Pontiff contained in the two letters addressed to him personally, as well as even resorted to ridiculous and scandalous means to maintain his arrogated title and dignity. Although he knew that he was not a real bishop, acting against the objective truth, Orthodox canonical norms and patristic tradition, he ordained several false priests and continued to exercise the episcopal ministry, without any sign of repentance, thus making it impossible to proceed to his eventual valid episcopal consecration. The excommunication, which Sebastiani fulminated against the Archdeacon on 1 February 1663 was the last remedy before his departure from Malabar, but one

which constituted the acme of the grave tragedy, perpetuating the painful division among the St Thomas Christians.

After introducing the new Bishop to the Dutch authorities, gaining the support of the local kings and after making all the possible arrangements for the successful governance of the new Bishop, Sebastiani, together with his companions John Thaddeus of St Brigit, Godfrey of St Andrew and Marcel of St Ives left Malabar on 14 February 1663 and went to Goa. During their stay in Goa Fr Marcel died and was buried there. On 20 January 1664 Sebastiani and his two companions set sail from Goa and arrived in Rome on 6 May 1665. Thus he terminated his second mission to the East Indies.

6. A Brief Biographical Note on Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani

Jerome Sebastiani, the second son of Joseph Sebastiani and Polissena Lorenzi was born on Friday, 21 February 1623 at Caprarola in the province of Viterbo, about 87 kilometres away from Rome. After the completion of his elementary education in Viterbo, he studied the humanities and rhetoric at the Jesuit school in Rome. At the end of his studies, he entered the monastery of the discalced Carmelites of Santa Maria della Scala in Rome and on 3 March 1640 received the religious habit. On that occasion he changed his baptismal name Jerome and adopted the name Joseph of St Mary (Giuseppe di Santa Maria). Thus his original name Jerome disappeared for ever and he came to be known simply as Joseph of St Mary for a long period of time. Later, especially after his episcopal consecration, the surname Sebastiani was also added. Thus his full name would be Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani. In India he is often referred simply as Sebastiani. In all the official documents the name Joseph of St Mary is found and we have maintained it as such. In order to avoid confusion, in our writings we have used his first name together with the surname, although for convenience in some places simply the surname Sebastiani has been adopted.

After one year of novitiate, on 3 March 1641 he made his religious profession as a discalced Carmelite. He completed his

philosophical and theological studies at Graz in Austria and then he was ordained to the priesthood. He returned to Italy and during the years 1651-1653 taught philosophy at the Carmelite monastery of Caprarola and Terni, and then theology at the monastery of St Mary of Victory in Rome (1654-1655). While he was teaching theology at the aforementioned monastery he was selected for the mission in India at the end of 1655 and Pope Alexander VII appointed him as Apostolic Commissary on 24 January 1656.⁵⁸

We have already dealt with his two missions among the St Thomas Christians in India between the years 1656-1665. After his return from India, on 2 June 1666 Pope Alexander VII appointed him Apostolic Visitor in the islands of the archipelago of the Ionian sea. On completion of this mission he returned to Rome at the end of June 1667 and submitted his report to the Holy See.⁵⁹

The successor of Alexander VII of glorious memory, Pope Clement IX (1667-1669) nominated Sebastiani Bishop of Bisignano in Calabria (Italy) and he governed the diocese until 1672. Then Pope Clement X (1670-1676) transferred him to the Diocese of "Città di Castello" in Umbria (Italy) which he governed until his death on 15 October 1689.⁶⁰

7. A Brief Note on the Two Books of Sebastiani

The works of Sebastiani, *Prima Spedizione all'Indie Orientali* (*First Expedition to the East Indies*) and *Seconda Spedizione all'Indie Orientali* (*Second Expedition to the East Indies*) were published in Rome in 1666 and 1672 respectively. As the titles themselves indicate, in these two volumes Sebastiani gives a complete account of his two voyages to India and especially his activities among the St Thomas Christians in Malabar for resolving the crisis and repelling the schism which had arisen among them

⁵⁸ We have summarized the biographical data of Sebastiani from the book of Eustachio di S. Maria, *Istoria della vita, virtù, e fatti illustri del ven. Monsignor Fr. Giuseppe di S. Maria Sebastiani*, 1-21.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ambrosius a S. Theresia OCD, *Hierarchia Carmelitana seu Series Illustrum Praesulum Ecclesiasticorum ex Ordine Carmelitarum Discalceatorum*, Fasciculus IV, Romae 1939, 194-195.

⁶⁰ Cf. Ambrosius a S. Theresia OCD, *Hierarchia Carmelitana...*, 195-196.

after the Oath against the Jesuits and the subsequent “episcopal consecration” of Archdeacon Thomas by twelve priests.

Although at times the works of Sebastiani manifest Western superiority and interpretation of facts, all the main events described in these books correspond to the truth. In fact, these books contain a first hand description of what exactly happened immediately after the Oath against the Jesuits and the subsequent schism. In writing these books Sebastiani had no selfish interests, his intention was only to manifest his indebtedness to the mercies of God and to narrate the truth. In the introductory section, presenting the first book to the readers, Sebastiani stated:

Seven years have passed since I wrote this brief account of my first expedition to the East Indies and now though late, I publish it, not just to satisfy the importunity of my friends but over and above to manifest my indebtedness to the mercies of God and of His Most Holy Mother. Further, it will serve as a faithful guide along lengthy routes to those who, driven by the zeal for the salvation of souls, would willingly expose themselves to the toils and dangers that one comes across in the vast kingdoms and seas of Asia.

I do not dwell on particulars concerning the provinces and kingdoms, their princes, peoples or customs except to the extent that they are related to the history which I present here. All travelogues so far put into the print are full of similar descriptions. In giving a true and certain account, I prefer to be concise in order not to incur the mark of some pilgrims, who in order to be admired narrate marvels at every step or extravagant successes or prodigious feats. Truth is the soul of history, without which history becomes a monster, a dream, a fiction. Mine is all soul, I being in every part sincere. In addition to being an impetus for others to undertake similar ventures it will assure them of heavenly protection. I wrote this account in Italian to satisfy the curiosity of some persons who obliged me in this regard; it is brief because of my engagements. Please accept this plain history, forgive the shortcomings, do correct them, not just those of orthography but also those pertaining to the propriety of words. With regard to the style I have followed the common saying: *Cum*

pluribus loquendum without limiting myself to the idiom of a particular province...

The second work seems to be more authoritative, since it was published with the official recognition and approval of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide. In fact, the ‘‘Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Generalis de Propaganda Fide, habite sub die 12 Novembris 1669’’, reads:

Relato supplici Libello R. P. D. Episcopi Bisiniani, pro licentia imprimendi opus ab eo compositum, cui titulus est: *Seconda Speditio all'Indie Orientali di Monsignor Sebastiani & c.* placuit Sacrae Congregationi praedictum librum iam recognitum & approbatum ab Eminentissimis DD. Cardinalibus Brancatio & Albitio ser. ser. Typis mandari. Datum ex Aedibus Sacrae Congregationis die 12 Novembris 1669.

Both works: the *First Expedition to the East Indies* and the *Second Expedition to the East Indies* have the same structure and are divided into three parts, which according to the traditional terminology are called books:

Book 1: after a preliminary introduction, mainly contains the description of the voyage of Sebastiani and his companions from Rome to Malabar in India, overcoming many perils and courageously confronting several difficulties.

Book 2: the strenuous efforts of Sebastiani and his companions for resolving the crisis in the Malabar Church and for recomposing peace and unity among the St Thomas Christians.

Book 3: mainly the narration of the return-journey of Sebastiani from Malabar to Rome.

Evidently books one and three of both expeditions which mostly narrate the to and fro journey of Sebastiani and his companions are not very relevant to the church-history. Hence in our work, from both Expeditions of Sebastiani we have taken almost completely the second book, which directly treats of the Church of St Thomas Christians in India.

CHARACTERS ON STAGE (BESIDES SEBASTIANI) AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOME WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

(If written differently, the expressions of Sebastiani are given in brackets)

Alexander or Chandy Parambil (Alessandro de Campo), a cousin of Archdeacon Thomas Parambil, Vicar of the St Mary's Church Kuravilangad in the present diocese of Palai, unanimously elected bishop by the churches adhering to Sebastiani assembled at Kaduthuruthy, consecrated and appointed by Sebastiani as the titular Bishop of Megara and Vicar Apostolic or Commissary of the Archdiocese of Cranganore of the St Thomas Christians on 1 February 1663, died on 2 January 1687 after more than 24 years of pastoral ministry

Angel of St Mary OCD (Angelo di Santa Maria), born in 1613, religious profession in Rome on 9 May 1632, one of the three companions of Sebastiani on the occasion of his second mission in 1660, died near Surat in India on 12 January 1661.

Atallah, full name Cyril Mar (Adeodatus) ibn-Issa, an Archbishop of the Antiochene Jacobite Syrian Church, became a Catholic on 18 October 1631, reached Mylapore in August 1652 claiming to be Ignatius Patriarch of all India and China, detained in the Jesuit college at Mylapore, then deported to Goa and Portugal in 1653, en route to Rome died in Paris on 26 March 1654.

Cassanar Ittithomman Anjilimoottil, one of the four councillors (the only one who remained faithful) assigned to Archdeacon Thomas on the occasion of the *Coonan Cross Oath*, the mastermind of the schism, fabricator of false patriarchal and papal letters, instigator of many machiavellian tricks, definitively and publicly excommunicated by Bishop Sebastiani on 1 February 1663.

Francis Garcia SJ (Francesco Garcia), born in 1580 in the diocese of Elvas in Portugal, entered the Society of Jesus on 12 June 1598, came to India in 1602 when he was only a theology student and made solemn vows on 8 November 1615. After many

years of ministry in different parts of India as a missionary and a professor, upon the presentation of the King of Portugal, on 23 June 1636 Pope Urban VII appointed him titular Bishop of Ascalon and coadjutor to Archbishop Stephen Brito of Cranganore of the St Thomas Christians. He became Archbishop of Cranganore on 3 December 1641 and died on 3 December 1659.

Godfrey of St Andrew OCD (Gottifreddo di S. Andrea), born in Brussels (Belgium) in 1633, joined the Carmelite province of Cologne and made his religious profession on 30 November 1655, one of the three companions of Sebastiani on the occasion of his second mission in 1660. He returned with him to Rome in 1665 and died in Brussels in 1679.

Hyacinth of St Vincent OCD (Giacinto di S. Vincenzo), born in Piceno, Italy in 1597, religious profession on 30 January 1622, sent to Malabar as Apostolic Commissary in 1656, reached Cochin on 10 March 1658, after about two years of ministry as Apostolic Commissary in Malabar died in Cochin on 10 February 1661.

Ignatius (Ignatio) Sarmento de Carvalho, the Portuguese General Captain who reached Cochin on 15 March 1659 to spearhead the war against the Dutch in defence of the city of Cochin and was defeated by the Dutch who captured Cochin on 7 January 1663.

John Thaddeus of St Brigit OCD (Gio: Taddeo di Santa Brigida), one of the three companions of Sebastiani on the occasion of his second mission in 1660, other information not available.

Codorm (Codormo), the native general of the kingdom of Cochin. We have failed to identify his original local name.

Emmanuel Serroni, canon and treasurer of the cathedral of Cochin, a friend of the Jesuits, after the death of the Apostolic Commissary Hyacinth on 10 February 1661, appointed governor of Malabar to safeguard the Padroado right of the King of Portugal by one of the conflicting factions of the cathedral chapter of the vacant Archdiocese of Goa, just before the second arrival of Sebastiani.

Kunjumathai or Mathew the Junior **Kunnel**, a nephew of Archdeacon George of the Cross (1593-1640), appointed

Archdeacon by Archbishop Francis Garcia on 27 April 1656 after he had excommunicated the false bishop Thomas Parambil. Mostly lived in Cochin in a house of Archbishop Garcia. Sebastiani called him the second intruder.

Marcel of St Ives OCD (Marcello di S. Ivo), born in Prague in 1626, religious profession on 11 November 1643, sent to Malabar as a companion of Hyacinth of St Vincent in 1656, exercised the powers of the Apostolic Commissary in the interim period between the death of Hyacinth and the second arrival of Sebastiani. After the Dutch had confiscated Cochin together with Sebastiani he went to Goa on 14 February 1663 and died there at the beginning of 1664.

Mathew of St Joseph OCD (Matteo di S. Giuseppe), born in 1617 in Caserta in Italy, religious profession on 25 September 1639, sent to the Carmelite house in Goa after 1644, joined Sebastiani when he arrived in India on the occasion of his first mission and went to Malabar in 1657, acted as delegate Apostolic Commissary in the interim period between the departure of Sebastiani for Rome and the arrival of Hyacinth, died in Cochin in 1691.

Paliath, a captain of the kingdom of Cochin.

Rycklof Vvangoens, the Dutch general captain who led the war against the Portuguese in the East Indies, he captured Cochin on 7 January 1663 and killed or expelled all the Portuguese.

Simon Gomez de Silva, Portuguese general captain and governor of Cochin during the first mission of Sebastiani in Malabar.

Thomas Parambil (Thomé de Campo), hailed from the ancient parish of Kuravilangad in the present diocese of Palai, appointed as Archdeacon by Archbishop Stephen Brito after the death of Archdeacon George of the Cross on 25 July 1640 when he was about 30 years old, led the Church of St Thomas Christians to the *Coonan Cross Oath* on 3 January 1653 and to the subsequent schism, “consecrated” bishop by twelve priests on 22 May 1653, excommunicated by Archbishop Francis Garcia on 26 April 1656, definitively and publicly excommunicated by Bishop Sebastiani on 1 February 1663, considered to be the original founder of the Orthodox Churches in India, known in history as Mar Thomas I,

died on 22 April 1670. Often in his writings Sebastiani calls him simply the “Intruder”.

Vincent Mary of St Catherine of Siena OCD (Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina di Siena), born in Italy in 1626, religious profession on 25 September 1644, a companion of Sebastiani on the occasion of his first mission in 1656, returned with him to Rome in 1659, died in Rome in 1679; he is the author of the book: *Il Viaggio all'Indie Orientali*, Venetia 1678.

SOME PARTICULAR WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

Cassanar(s), Cathenar(s) (Cassanare, Cassanari): St Thomas Christian priests. In his writings Sebastiani has exclusively used these words to refer to the St Thomas Christian diocesan priests. In our translation these words are maintained especially whenever we have to distinguish Oriental priests from Latin priests and wherever they have become part of proper names.

Chavers (amuco, amuchi): those who swear to die for defence or for vindicating justice for an offence perpetrated. At that epoch the St Thomas Christians had kept chavers belonging to particular Hindu castes, who fought until death to defend the rights of the said Christians and their churches.

Church (chiesa): in the writings of Sebastiani the word parish is never found; instead the word “church” is used as a substitute for parish. In our translation church with small ‘c’ is used to indicate parish.

Malabar (Serra): serra is the Portuguese word for *mala*, meaning hill or mountain; the plural “serras” indicates hills or mountains. The Portuguese writers generally translated Malabar as “serra”. Hence in many of their writings expressions such as Church of the Serra(s), Christians of Serra(s), people of Serra(s) can be found. Sebastiani also used this original Portuguese word “Serra” for Malabar. However, in his writings Serra exclusively indicates the habitat of the St Thomas Christians at that epoch, without any other geographical or political connotation. We have translated Serra as Malabar.

Mapilla(s): means nobles, an honorific title added to the proper names of traditional St Thomas Christians. Since at that epoch the title 'Mappila' was used by Jews and Muslims as well, in order to distinguish the St Thomas Christian nobles the appellation Nazarani (=Christian) Mappilas was also employed. In his writings Sebastiani often used 'Mapillas' alone to indicate St Thomas Christians, especially the lay leaders.

Mund: the traditional dress of men in Kerala. Mund is a sheet of cloth two meters long and about one meter wide which falls from the umbilicus to the feet.

Nayars (Nairi): native soldiers belonging to the Hindu warrior caste. Sebastiani always used this word to indicate native soldiers. In our translation we have maintained this word.

Ola (olla): an order, a letter, a decree or any other document written on palm leaf. This was the ancient manner of writing documents in South India before the use of paper became common.

Pallack: the traditional means of transportation of kings, princes, governors and other important persons. Pallacks were carried by men on their shoulders.

Panikker: fencing-master, who trained young boys in warfare. At that epoch some Panikkers had several thousands of soldiers under their command.

Paravu (parro): the ancient manner of imprisonment in Malabar. According to circumstances nayars were sent to a village, a church or a private house, and kept it under custody. The arrested had also the obligation of feeding and maintaining the nayars.

Regedor (Regedore); governor or viceroy under native Hindu kings. We have consistently translated Regedor as governor.

Samas, Chemas (sciammaes, sciamas): clerics below the order of priesthood, not necessarily deacons.

PART ONE

THE FIRST EXPEDITION OF JOSEPH OF ST MARY SEBASTIANI OCD TO THE EAST INDIES

**PRIMA SPEDITIONE
ALL'INDIE ORIENTALI
DEL P. F. GIUSEPPE DI SANTA MARIA,
CARMELITANO SCALZO, DELEGATO APOSTOLICO
NE' REGNI DE MALAVARI.**

**Ordinata da Nostro Signore
ALESSANDRO SETTIMO.**

In Roma, nella Stamperia di Filippo Mancini, M. DC. LXVI.

Con licenza de' Superiori

**FIRST EXPEDITION
TO THE EAST INDIES
OF FR FRIAR JOSEPH OF ST MARY,
DISCALCED CARMELITE, APOSTOLIC DELEGATE TO
THE KINGDOMS OF MALABAR,**

**Ordered by Our Lord
ALEXANDER VII**

Rome, in the Press of Philip Mary Mancini, 1666
With the permission of the Superiors

FIRST EXPEDITION, BOOK ONE

CHAPTER I FOUNDATION AND VARIOUS STAGES OF THE CHRISTIANITY OF MALABAR

In the kingdoms of Malabar (that begin above Kannur and end with Cape Comorin, the southern most limit of the East Indies) there exists an ancient Christian community founded by the Apostle St Thomas (and thus named after him) which, although it has always professed the Law of Christ, nevertheless strayed for many centuries from the right path, being seduced and deceived by the very same prelates who governed it. The Apostle at the beginning converted some villages in the above-mentioned kingdoms, then left for the other coast of Bengal or Ganga (which is in fact the same) called that of Coromandel and converted many places, among others also the city of Mylapore where he finally ended his life with glorious martyrdom, for his faith in Christ. Persecutions at the hands of gentile kings later on compelled the Christians of these parts to flee to the above mentioned kingdoms of Malabar where their fellows were instead much favoured. These Christians, when remaining without a bishop, procured prelates from Babylon, which shortly afterwards ended up in the errors of Nestorius, thus infesting these Christians till the year 1599, when at the peak of Portuguese military supremacy in the whole of the Indies, Alexis de Menezes of the Order of St Augustine, Archbishop of Goa and the new Apostle of these peoples (called of Malabar because of the nearby mountains) travelled to those places with a large retinue and after strenuous efforts, overcoming infinite perils reduced them again to the purity of faith purging their intellect of the Nestorian pests. Clement VII of pious memory, who at that time was seated on the Cathedra of St Peter, obtained for them as their Archbishop Francis Ros of the Society of Jesus, a Catalan, who was greatly esteemed by those

peoples. He was succeeded by Stephen Brito, also a Jesuit, after whom followed Francis Garcia of the same Institute, both of Portuguese nationality.

The fathers of the Society engaged wholeheartedly in this spiritual governance, even in countries as distant as these and everywhere sought to gain new sons for the Church. In order not to leave a Christian community as large as 200 thousand souls without a proper pastor they even procured the nomination or election of one who ought to succeed the still living Archbishop.

The first dignity in Malabar, after that of the Metropolitan, is the one of Archdeacon, who according to an ancient privilege obtains the office by hereditary succession from the same family and just as in the Greek Church enjoys great prerogatives. The Archdeacon is seen as the head and prince of the Christians of St Thomas (named so after their Apostle) not having any other dignity - ecclesiastical or secular - from among themselves. The first Archdeacon at the time of the reduction already referred to was George of the Cross, a prudent and virtuous person who for forty years lived in that dignity, almost always quietly, under the first two Archbishops. At his death, he was succeeded by his nephew, Thomas Parambil, excluding another who was more suited to the dignity. This one of unquiet spirit, fomented by malign persons, was rarely in harmony with the last Archbishop and broke up with him in open clashes. Though once reconciled by Philip Mascarenhas, Viceroy of the Indies, not long after they again started the litigation, accusing each other of failed observance of what had been reciprocally agreed upon. To this was added other grave reasons, as a result of which the entire population and the clergy were stirred up by the astuteness of the Archdeacon against the said Archbishop and they wrote to Rome in many ways, only one of which happened to be directed to the Prior of the Discalced Carmelites of the Scala, who served as their procurator to this Court.

CHAPTER II

THE FALL OF MALABAR INTO HERETICAL SCHISM

At this time, a schismatic Syrian bishop reached Mylapore, who pretended to go to Malabar and who (as I came to know later on) was invited from Diabekr with secret letters from the very Archdeacon. He let himself be called the Patriarch and claimed to be sent by Our Lord Pope Innocent X (1644-1655). The fathers of the Society caught him and detained him in secret, shut up in their college. They permitted the Patriarch to meet three clerics (*samas*) from Malabar who had arrived at Mylapore after a month's journey with the intention of visiting the church of their Apostle. He handed over to them a secret letter written in Syriac addressed to the Archdeacon over which was fabricated the heretical schism into which those peoples fell miserably in a short time. Having learned about the arrival and detention of the said Patriarch, the Archdeacon and the whole population assembled immediately at Diamper and began a series of negotiations with the Archbishop by way of letters, but always without result. Thereafter they moved on to Mattancherry, a quarter of a league away from Cochin, where a Portuguese fleet from Mylapore arrived bringing the Patriarch and where the Archbishop of Malabar was also present.

There they appealed several times to the Captain, the authorities of the city, the chapter, the Commissioner of the Holy Office and the Religious belonging to other Orders to let them see the false prelate promising them that if they had found him to be false, they themselves would see to his punishment. They even interposed the authoritative intercession of the Queen of Upper Cochin (area of Mattancherry) offering her twenty-four thousand *Serafines* to this effect. Though the Archdeacon showed himself earnest in settling the deal he did not want the request to be heeded for fear of being discovered as false, what he had asserted to the people as true. One of the princes of the said Queen in fact alleged that the Archdeacon cared not so much for the Patriarch as for the permission for the clergy to marry.

After several consultations made inside the city-fortress (gates closed and under tight security for fear of a tumult) and after having interrogated the Patriarch and found him to be a false one, without any briefs from His Holiness (those he argued were lost) it was decided that the Christians might be permitted to meet him. But a strong faction opposed the idea and forced the Patriarch to leave immediately for Goa with the same fleet. Because of this the Christians of Malabar were so exasperated that they assembled inside the church of the place and swore on the Gospels, in front of a Crucifix placed over the altar, that they would never again accept Francis Garcia as their prelate. They submitted themselves in all matters to the governance of the Archdeacon, who made as if to read a letter from the Patriarch (counterfeited by a certain *Cassanar* Ittithomman, a notorious Nestorian heretic) in which sufficient authority was given for this, though the original contained nothing other than the notice of his being sent by Innocent X, his imprisonment and the plea for help to be liberated, naming himself in Syriac as Patriarch Ignatius and pretending to have received the said dignity from Antioch.

Having done this, the Archdeacon organized an assembly at Edappally, where another falsified letter from the Patriarch was read, according to which more authority was given to him. Finally, they assembled at Alangad and there too was read a fake letter on the part of the Patriarch. As a matter of fact, the Patriarch had written only one, the first letter and that too essentially altered while the others were forged by the Archdeacon assisted by the same Ittithomman, who, in order not to betray his beautiful Syriac characters, at the same time wrote to other persons in the same language in really bad characters, but they could identify his writings. He later visited these very people and implored them not to cause him discredit by displaying his ignorance. But soon he got his punishment; following a fall, the hand that recorded such diabolic words remained forever paralysed. The falsification of the letters did not come to light from the beginning because one of the three clerics, who had returned from Mylapore, a nephew of the Archdeacon, was induced to declare upon oath that all three letters were authentic, although the other two clerics categorically denied it. He perjured himself later on, being irritated with his uncle, who

did not keep his promise to nominate him to the dignity of Archdeacon. Obliged in conscience, notwithstanding many risks, he revealed the truth and fled to the Archbishop.

Letters from the Inquisitors of Goa, which sought to remedy the imminent ruin happened to reach the assembly at Alangad but were turned down with contempt. Based on a fake letter, in which the faculty was granted to the people to elect 12 priests to consecrate the Archdeacon as Bishop according to ancient customs (Babylonian as they referred to it), the new *Metran* (so they call their bishop) was made in that Church, in the presence of the gentile king, with ceremonies unheard-of, one of which was the strangling of many cocks hurling them up in air with cheers and acclamations for the new *Metran*. Having spread his fame all around Malabar, he wrote *olas* (letters) to the churches and was received and accepted by all as the Bishop except by the leading Christians of the big church of Kaduthuruthy, the church of Diamper and of different villages.

The Intruder, who feigned to be zealous, gained both applause and followers. A prelate wills priests of his own calibre! He thus gave holy Orders or better sacrilegious disorders to the worst of men, without religion, without letters, without piety. In order that they might esteem this apparent sacrament he fixed for every order a considerable price. Many of them were made parish priests, after removing the true pastors from their churches. He further impeded legitimate priests from celebrating the Mass, consecrated the holy Oil, dispensed more than the Pope from matrimonial impediments, excommunicated and absolved at will, undid the sacred and made everything not only profane but also sacrilegious.

CHAPTER III

INFORMATION ABOUT THE CRISIS IN ROME AND MY EXPEDITION TO MALABAR

Three years had already elapsed since the pernicious turbulence began to rage in Malabar, when Divine Providence vouchsafed the Roman Church that Supreme Pastor whom the circumstances of the world - more perturbed than ever - required. In fact the Providence granted the Church the glorious prosperity of Alexander and made him immediately see obsequious the crowns of Scotland and Wales in the most worthy Queen Christina, the splendour of women and of our century. At that time the Pope came to know of the strange happenings among those peoples of the East Indies from the letters which the Archdeacon, the clergy and other leaders of Malabar consigned to the Prior of the Discalced Carmelites of the Scala. He also remitted such letters to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, which received information also from other sources.

It is not possible to explain enough how greatly His Holiness and the Cardinals of the said Congregation pondered over the very grave problems of that Christianity. Their affliction was very great, seeing as almost entirely lost that most ancient Christianity, numerically so strong. Several consultations were made to sort out an efficacious remedy. In these endeavours one can clearly see how the apostolic zeal for the salvation of souls burned in the hearts of those princes of the Church, because each one procured to remedy the loss of that Christianity with the most suitable means possible, without taking into account any kind of cost. At first they thought of sending a prudent and zealous bishop, but that seemed impossible owing to many difficulties. Finally, they decided to send a stern monk from among the Discalced Carmelites to tranquillise the Archdeacon, the clergy and the people of Malabar. As a matter of fact, the Christians of Malabar were well-inclined towards Carmelite spirituality, which they practised with many praises, as it emerged clearly from the letters they wrote to His Holiness and to the Sacred Congregation. The Holy See finally chose Hyacinth of St Vincent, a well-known preacher, to undertake

this mission, who, after mature deliberation, accepted the proposal without delay. He was given the faculty to chose two or three companions at his discretion and was ordered to organize the travel at the earliest.

Many religious prompted by zeal offered to accompany him but he chose none. He decided to select me, if I had no objection. Since at that time I was a professor of theology at the Convent of St Mary of Victory, he thought that I could help him in the enterprise with that appearance of letters, which my office required. He inquired through others about my tastes and finally made me the proposal in person. Confused and perplexed by such a request and not knowing what to say, in order to gratify my conscience, I answered that finding myself without virtue, not sufficiently endowed with health and still less with tongues or letters I dreaded to offer myself spontaneously for this venture or to embrace it freely, unless I was ordered, but that I would have considered it a gross negligence if I who to refuse when a Superior or anyone in authority commanded me to do so. My reply sufficed to assure him and foreseeing what could happen I started the necessary preparations, for sacrificing me to death, because unwell and being experienced of the travails of a long trip from a journey in Germany, I considered almost certain the loss of life, either tired of navigation or knocked down by treading very bad and long streets. I imagined myself among the faces of Moors, exposed to the rays of the boiling sun or fully wet under the inclemency of a rainy sky and very often among the roaring waves of submersed seas. All these provoked in me an incredible tension, as did the thoughts of being far away from Europe, Italy and Rome.

However, these worries were not enough to induce me to detest the enterprise in any manner, if entrusted to me, thinking that upon this might depend my health. When I was called by Hyacinth and was conducted to the palace of His Holiness - who most benign by nature, was much more compassionate this time than usual – because after indicating to me his desire that I be the companion of Fr Hyacinth in that mission and after my ready acceptance, he filled us with his blessings and favours. He spoke diffusely of the great consideration necessary in granting indulgences, so that we might give it with more attention than in

ordinary human business only to those who, frequenting the sacraments, could benefit from it. He obliged us to undertake a most speedy journey and at our instance applied the travails and fatigues of so long and dangerous journey for the reparation of our sins and finally biding us farewell, said: "Go cheerfully, let us see again soon".

The serenity of his face calmed the tempests of my mind, which until that moment had cruelly hit me; never again I experienced so cruel waves. While still preparing for the journey, it pleased His Holiness to separate me from Hyacinth with a view to better ensure an enterprise of such importance. It was decided to send him together with other companions via Portugal so that they might reach Malabar by sea alone. I had to reach the same destination via Arabia and Persia all by land. We were given the same briefs, letters, faculties and instructions so that if by some accident one were to fail, the other was to make up for him. If both of us were to reach Malabar we would have to work in different areas well demarcated.

I received the faculty from the Cardinals to select two or three companions of my liking, but I implored them to order that they be assigned to me by the Superior General, desirous of having them through God rather than according to my genius. I was given Frs. Vincent Mary of St Catherine of Sienna from the Province of Lombardy, Raphael of St Alexis from the Roman Province and Bro. Luis of St Francis from the Province of Lyons in France.

With these companions I went to the most eminent Cardinal Pallotto, at that time vice Protector of the sanctuary of Loreto and we placed our journey in his hands and enterprise in those of the most glorious Virgin. This was very pleasing to his Eminence, who promised us to order that special prayers be conducted for us in that holy place until our return. Finally on 22 February 1656, feast of the Cathedra of Antioch and anniversary of my baptism, after having received the money and some provisions for the journey, as well as the briefs and letters of His Holiness, together with some letters of the Cardinals and other persons we embarked for Naples in a small boat.

Book one, chapters 4-24, describes the journey of Fr Joseph of St Mary from Naples to Malabar. He travelled through Messina, Malta, Tripoli, Aleppo, Babylon, Nineveh, Bassora, Combrù in Persia, Surat (on the West Coast of India), Daman, Bassein, Chavul, Banda, Vingorla, Kannur, Calicut, Palayur and finally reached Edapally on 5 February 1657, where Archdeacon Thomas was residing at that time.

FIRST EXPEDITION, BOOK TWO

CHAPTER I STARTS TO NEGOTIATE OVER THE REDUCTION OF THE INTRUDER

After so long and tiresome a journey I hoped to have some rest: *alia ex alia cura fatigat, vexatq; animum nova tempestas.* Instead of enjoying the least tranquillity, I found myself engulfed in an ocean of turbulence with the prospect of a most unhappy wreck. No sooner was I absorbed in prayer inside the church of St George at Edappally than the Intruder sent his elder brother, parish priest of the nearby church of St Mary, where he resided together with a few priests of his curia among whom was also a fake priest, his secretary and confessor, who on that occasion acted as the interpreter. After some words of compliment they asked me as to what impelled me to undertake so dangerous a journey that brought me to their country. I related to them in detail of how Rome got to know, although late, about the troubles of that Christianity and of their letters directed to the Prior of the Discalced Carmelites of the Scala in the said city, who was constituted by they themselves as the Procurator of Malabar to that curia. Then I told them everything that had been done in their favour: that Fr Hyacinth of St Vincent, a Discalced Carmelite, was sent to them via Portugal with the faculty of Apostolic Commissary; that for the greater security of their good I too, belonging to the same Order, was sent by land with the same faculty and that was why I, bearing infinite troubles and dangers, reached their lands, though unknown to me, putting myself confidently in the hands of the Archdeacon and theirs and this not for any motive other than to help them with all cordiality in all that was in my power, particularly in such an important deal, upon which depended the salvation of many souls. They remained convinced of the truth, but were little pleased with it; so I immediately understood how deeply rooted was the

heretical schism in their hearts. Coming to the particulars of such a deal they queried me about the Patriarch and I at length explained to them that he was false, but it did not provoke great effect, since they already knew it or at least suspected it. It sufficed them that he be from the regions of Babylon, to which they showed more respect than to Rome.

Passing on to talk about the Intruder, I proved to them, with the Sacred Councils and with all the reasoning offered by the sacred canons as well as theology, that he was a false bishop, but it was difficult to make them understand since they acted in bad faith. They had only three weak arguments to their support: 1) just as the Pope is consecrated by cardinals who are inferior to him so also a bishop can be consecrated by simple priests; 2) many a time the people managed to get bishops of their own choice; 3) and finally, the ordination must necessarily be valid, since it was done under the order of a Patriarch. These arguments, very popular among these peoples, were easily refuted by declaring that the Pope is none other than a bishop of the whole Church, equal in Order to any other bishop, however small he be, and consequently could be consecrated by him and that certain nations enjoyed the faculty to elect, nominate and propose bishops of their choice but not to consecrate him or to get him consecrated by simple priests.

I repeated similar discourses with them and others who came to visit me. I tried in vain several times to meet the Intruder, but it was not possible. On the sixth day I somehow managed to visit him, though not in my capacity as Apostolic Commissary, but as a private monk. The Archdeacon was surrounded by many soldiers, his partisans, whom he sent to me early in the morning in order to frighten me but without success since I instantly rendered them polite friends. I was so profuse in my affection and in showing him my desire to serve and help him that he himself later on confessed, of course exaggeratedly, that on that occasion, because of his reputation, he could have turned everything to his advantage, but later it was made impossible for him.

I was asked to leave without coming to particulars and without any talk of the deal in question for fear of the soldiers (as he told me affectedly), but I took him by the hand and led him into one of his secret rooms and there closeted with him and four of his

trustworthy priests. I told him all that I had already related to those who had come to visit me: that the Patriarch was false, that he (the Archdeacon) was not a true Archbishop, that I had told him the truth and that I would have this published throughout Malabar, even if this might cost my life (this I swore upon a Crucifix which I pulled from the chest). In spite of all these, as I told him, I willingly put myself confidently in his hands, committing myself in everything that was in my power. I further proposed that in order to serve him better it was necessary that we met more frequently. In all matters where conscience did not enter I promised him to do only that which he himself would have wanted or suggested. I added that I would have considered it a great favour to be allowed to have a confidential discussion with him in that room or any other convenient place.

The answer was that everything would be decided in an assembly of priests which he planned to convene. He advised me for the time being to retire to Cochin. In order to better assure the security of my letters, apostolic briefs and others documents he further suggested me to hand these over to him, which he then would have returned with utmost fidelity. I was pleased to hear of the assembly and urged him to act quickly. However I declined his requests, thus refusing to leave Malabar and to separate myself from my brothers, without being able to visit them, when I had just arrived there, notwithstanding infinite troubles. As to the letters I told him I had received the order not to consign them to anyone except to the persons directed. I agreed to deliver and read out to him, in the presence of some witnesses, a letter and an apostolic brief addressed to him. However, the Archdeacon did not want to admit the said witnesses, asking me to do it without similar precautions, although he pretended to postpone everything to the next morning.

These answers foiled his plot, and he then dismissed me with the pretext of being late without any resolution. I was compelled to tell him of the order received from Rome to report faithfully as to how he treated me in order to reward in any case his readiness, obedience and virtue, thus giving him the hope of receiving many honours. After embracing him and kissing him on the forehead I returned to the other church.

I could have made the said visit only on the sixth day since the Archdeacon deferred it in order to wait for that *Cassanar Ittithomman*, a Nestorian, whose craftiness was behind the whole issue. As soon as he arrived, he came to visit me in sheep's clothing, bare-footed and wearing a very poor habit and a cord round the waist. He kissed my hands several times with much reverence, spoke little and softly and always with his head bowed while a false priest, the confessor of the Archdeacon, from time to time extolled his virtues. However, the day before, at mid-night, some good clerics, true Catholics, came to me (though extremely fearful) who informing me of many particulars and among other things to guard myself against the astuteness of this wolf, without ever confiding in him. Showing him great respect, I tried to give him a twinge of conscience but without success. Either pretending or not at all feeling any remorse, he always hid himself under the mantle of hypocrisy.

CHAPTER II

THE FLIGHT OF THE ARCHDEACON; AND MY PASSAGE TO KURAVILANGAD

Early next morning the Archdeacon left for Pallipuram without even greeting his guest, having already arranged with the king and the local governor to rob me of everything on the supposition that I kept a lot of money. But God, who knows everything, made this known to two clerics, ordained by the very Archdeacon, both of whom arrived the same day from Kuravilangad, the most important place (*luogo principalissimo*) of Malabar. They came to visit me and made several tests to make sure, as far as possible, that I was sent by Rome and I was what I said (I was) and in order to be sure they asked for my crucifix and placing their hands over it declared: we swear upon the Lord that we would never abandon you and we would be ready to sacrifice our lives for your sake if that be necessary; be confident in us and do flee this same night secretly in our company, because by remaining here till tomorrow you run a great risk. I had some fear

and I did not know what to decide, since the only thing I knew about them was that they were ordained by the Archdeacon. Nonetheless, putting myself in God's hands I chose to run the risk. They offered to find me a boat and to take me at midnight. Having promised this they left. Once having arranged for the boat, they returned secretly to inform me. They stayed hidden for the rest of the day and at the appointed time they came and we, everyone loaded with some bundles, stealthily moved to the boat anchored at some distance. Two days before I had sent one of my companions with the briefs, apostolic letters and my personal letters to Cochin, to the chapter *sede vacante* and to Cranganore to the Archbishop of Malabar. I also wrote to the other two governors of the Indies who happened to be in Cochin on their way from Ceylon to Goa and to the Fr Commissary of the Holy Office, in order to obtain their support and protection. I informed the said priest by an express mail of my departure for Kuravilangad so that he too might come there. I, together with the other companions and the two clerics, rowed through the least suspected waters, some of which were very narrow and others very broad, until the following night when we reached a small church dedicated to the Holy Redeemer where we rested. Early next morning we resumed our journey and reached Kaduthuruthy, where we went first to a big church, the chiefs of which were Catholics and then to another small church controlled by the Archdeacon's faction. There I met three priests from Kuravilangad who came via Edappally and with them we continued the journey and reached the church of the Holy Ghost at Muttuchira where we were received with very great devotion. Finally at dusk we reached Kuravilangad in a very beautiful church called St Mary Major, from where we passed on to the nearby chapel of St Sebastian, located on a small hilltop and enclosed after the manner of a fortress.

Reflecting on the situation of Malabar, I saw it in a really bad state, very different from what I imagined on the way. Although I was determined to do everything possible for the conversion of so many people sparing no efforts and confronting any danger, nevertheless I feared that little could be done and this for the following reasons, which prompted many to advise me to abandon the project:

1. Since whoever participated in the deposition of the Intruder would be by that very fact deprived of the title of nobility and branded with infamy, a punishment more feared in Malabar than the loss of the soul, let alone that of life.

2. Because of the obstinate belief that the Syrian Patriarch was sent by Rome and that the Archdeacon was a true Archbishop. Whoever asserted the contrary ran great risks. I was requested several times to abstain, at least temporarily, from telling the truth. I, on the contrary, denounced them even more strongly.

3. For the many ordinations conferred invalidly by the Archdeacon.

4. For the dispensations granted by the same from the gravest matrimonial impediments.

5. Because the Archdeacon feared to remain without anything, if he were to return, since the Archbishop had already excommunicated him and had chosen another Archdeacon. In fact he ignored the censures.

6. Because of their sheer ignorance in matters of faith and of the little esteem they entertained for the purity of our faith.

7. Since this Christendom was subjected to many gentile kings and princes who fomented the schism for political interests. They at times favoured those who paid more tribute and at other times promised help to all without observing anything.

8. Since I knew of the experience of the two Commissaries of the Holy Office, belonging to the Order of St Dominic, sent for this purpose by the Inquisitors of Goa. Notwithstanding infinite costs, travails and fatigues finally they had to abandon their mission.

9. Because the trade and every other relation between the Portuguese and the Christians of Malabar had been broken. The very passage from one part to another was not sure. On my arrival, a chief Christian of a church in Cochin, who came to visit me was almost buried under stones. The chapter of the same city imposed censures upon all those from that diocese who would enter the churches of Malabar, since there were many false priests who officiated publicly.

In addition to these, there were also other difficulties which I leave without mentioning. After pondering over all these I nonetheless decided to give it a try and to enter into that most

intricate labyrinth. The more unworthy was I to undertake such a responsibility, the more increasingly shone the golden thread of Divine Providence, which deigned to utilize me profitably. In everything that was left undone the responsibility is mine alone; in everything accomplished the glory belongs to God alone. As to the instruments of Divine Mercy I should mention my companions and some friendly clerics who helped me and advised me in everything.

In this place I stayed for almost three months always negotiating with the Archdeacon through some of his relatives, all deceitful out of malice and thus fruitless. The Archdeacon wrote to many churches that I was a Jesuit in Carmelite's cloths, that I robbed the offering box, candlesticks and lamps of the church of St George at Edappally, that I came from Goa with false documents, that I suborned the priests as well as the Christians of Malabar in order to annihilate them. With similar lies he forbade all to go to Kuravilangad but still the news spread that I stayed there and everyday people from many churches visited me and I told them the truth of the matter. Our companion who had gone to Cochin and Cranganore returned with replies that consoled me very much. A little later Anthony de Silva de Menezes, formerly captain of Cochin during the time of the imprisonment of the Patriarch also turned up and spoke publicly in my favour declaring that he was sent by the governors of the Indies. The vicar general and the chapter of Cochin came too and they sung the *Te Deum* with great festivity inside the St Mary Major. The next morning they sung a high Mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin. They too honoured me and favoured me with great enthusiasm. A little later, Fr Commissary of the Holy Office reached Kaduthuruthy with Anthony Galvan, Chevalier of St James and a few clerics. It was already late in the evening and a drunken *nayar* threatened to kill the Commissary, but this one picked a quarrel with another *nayar* who killed him. Thus escaping death, he reached Kuravilangad with the others where I could enjoy his courtesy. I got to know of his deals with the Archdeacon, beginning with great expectations, but ending always badly, since the Archdeacon was interested only in receiving the revenues from the Portuguese State which the Inquisitors had promised him.

The people of this parish and many other parishes of Malabar hold great devotion for the holy scapular of the Madonna of Carmel and I met more than five thousand men who wore it and many of them stood in my favour. A brother and the mother of the Archdeacon living at Kuravilangad, manifested great affection for me and showed themselves to be eager in reaching a settlement, but they secretly spread many lies, conspired a thousand traps and cheated me with promises. They bribed the gentile governors so that they might expel me from that place. But these latter came to me and declared the whole truth. They all left scandalized by the Archdeacon and his men. The same happened with the Muslims and other gentiles and particularly with those gentiles who frequently gave alms both to St Mary Major and St Sebastian, and who used to pray in front of the church doors and venerate those places with incredible devotion.

On the holy Friday of March, late in the evening, the priests and people of St Mary Major used to make a solemn procession, at times accompanied by trumpets and tambourines, from the church to a most beautiful granite cross nearby with full of oil lamps at its pedestals. After venerating the cross they used to return to the church always chanting Syriac hymns. The whole ceremony was so edifying that I was moved to tears in witnessing how the Instrument of our redemption was honoured even among those gentiles. This Christianity entertained great devotion for the holy cross and in front of every church they erected massive crosses, all in well-worked stone and with pedestals so carved that they might be filled with oil lamps, particularly on Saturday evenings and on solemn feast days. On the Easter morning people assembled in big numbers at St Mary Major and they wanted me to carry in procession a beautiful reliquary that resembled a monstrance. The procession was conducted in all pomp and splendour, being that sacristy of the church exceptionally equipped with paraphernalia. During the procession they continuously let off firecrackers, played in concert a variety of tambourines and other instruments which resulted both pompous and edifying.

Some time after my arrival in Malabar the rainy season began, to the great wonder of everybody since it was out of time, and lasted till the end of August. These rains to my great fortune

lowered the excessive summer heat. In March and April there were many thunderbolts, some of which killed three gentiles, other five, other seven, burning also a house or rather a hut, as these in Malabar and in the entire Indies may be rightly called. The Archdeacon sent three priests - constrained to do it by other priests, who had already become my adherents - to visit me who upon his word promised me that the people's assembly would be convened on the Octave of Easter in order to read the briefs and to render the befitting obedience. The Archdeacon, however, broke all the promises, though made in writing. In Holy Week he even consecrated the oil and conferred false Orders against the accord reached with the three above-mentioned priests. I thus procured to do it on my own with the help of other churches and to this end I sent my companions to many places. Having known this, the Archdeacon wrote to the churches of Kaduthuruthy and Muttuchira to arrange for my passage to Edappally, since the decision had been taken to conduct the meeting there and he had already informed many churches. I smelt danger for my life and knew that the Archdeacon's faction would have the upper hand in the proposed meeting. Nonetheless, I wanted to be present there. I, together with some priests and faithful already obedient, left Kuravilangad and reached the Portuguese fortress of Magi. No sooner had I taken some refreshments than was I overwhelmed by a strange malady. Everybody around judged that I was poisoned and they began to mourn. I recovered having taken some remedies and consoled everyone by revealing that in the case of an eventuality they would receive a substitute in my place. In fact, one of my companions was already chosen for the post, since I was aware of the many dangers I was exposed to.

CHAPTER III

SECRET MEETING AT EDAPPALLY

The assembly of the Archdeacon, which consisted only of his supporters, sent me an imperious *ola* which acknowledged for the first time my title of Apostolic Commissary and invited me to Edappally in order to reach a settlement. Two days before my visit I sent two priests, my companions, so that they might establish what I exactly was to do but they returned without any effective proposal.

Accompanied by some clerics I went there because if were I to renounce going, the Archdeacon would have misled the people, saying that I did not go for fear of being discovered as false. Many priests and laymen came to receive me at the shore or the port of river and they ushered me into the major church where the Archdeacon showed up wearing episcopal insignia. Here we greeted each other and I expressed with great affection my immense desire to serve that Christendom to the satisfaction of all. They responded that they were and had always remained Catholics. I was pleased to hear that. Thereafter I was led to the other church of St George. The first day of the Pentecost, that was the day after my arrival, the Archdeacon commissioned a false priest to say the Mass, to whom he used to confess. The homily was given by *Cassanar Ittithomman*, an indomitable Nestorian, the most perverted and deceitful on earth, who was considered to be a magician.

On that day I prayed to God to melt their frozen hearts with the fire of his Holy Spirit and to disperse the darkness of their errors with the light of truth, by igniting their hearts with his love. Instead, the Archdeacon became more and more furious and provoked his followers, some of whom got drunk and with other men of his faction tried to frighten away those few good people on my side, rendering them more silent. Several times they came to the other church to pester us but we always deluded them with skill. Our tact alone would not have been sufficient without the singular protection we received from God.

Public consultations were held inside the major church and they informed me from time to time of the deliberations through four priests. I always gave them convenient answers. On the eve of the second feast they came with many impudent requests, one of which was that I might ordain the Archdeacon as a bishop and with that he would have given me obedience and would have given me jubilant receptions all throughout Malabar. I answered that he should obey first and then I would procure him what he desired. Besides, I instructed them in those necessary and appropriate doctrines. But they insisted that it was absolutely necessary that he immediately be made a bishop to which I responded that neither the Holy Father nor anyone else on earth could make someone who persisted obstinately in a heretical schism a legitimate bishop. I added: let him first demonstrate his worthiness with the virtues and qualities necessary and then the episcopal dignity would be procured. They answered abruptly: "if it be so, you return to the place from where you have come; we have nothing to do with you". When I heard this reply, overcome by grief, I threw myself at their feet and with much tears implored and entreated them not to wish the loss of their souls and of so big a Christendom for such a manifest error. I told them with extreme emotion everything that zeal and charity suggested to me. My gestures turned to be of help to many who witnessed them. But for others these were of no use, especially for Ittithomman who in his language said a thousand blasphemies against the Supreme Pontiff, which I knew only later, since my interpreter did not want to torment me further at that moment. I passed the whole night in great affliction, having seen the deal in a desolate state, having lost Malabar, as well as I and my companions being constrained to leave in humiliation. But O God! How profound are your judgments; how wonderful your decrees! An old man from Muttom came to me early next morning and said: Be cheerful, Father, the deal has already been done. We left it undone (I answered him). And done (added the old man). The Archdeacon did it with the intention of undoing it. He asked to be made a bishop and this in public. Thus he declared with his own mouth that he is not a bishop. That astute man hurt himself with his own weapons. Time will demonstrate the effect of what I

say. At that time I did not take it seriously but later on I found it to be absolutely true.

Seeing the things going from bad to worse, I embarked for the city of Cochin. I told the Archdeacon and his men of my withdrawal to the fortress nearby so that if they had decided to embrace the right path, they could easily inform me. There in Cochin I could again meet the people on my side, with whom I agreed to procure the adjustment of that Christianity through another way, which they proposed, imploring me not to abandon the mission.

I was about to use ecclesiastical weapons against the Archdeacon but I first wanted to make a final attempt. I sent him a letter of mine with others of the chapter, city, captains of Cochin and the fortress as well as that of the Commissary of the Holy Office, threatening ecclesiastical censures. We also notified him that we would be going to the kings of Malabar with the briefs of His Holiness and the letter written by him to the Inquisitors of Goa so that they might force him to obey. The letters were sent through the captain of the Guards of the governor of Cochin and through a relative of his, but all was in vain because the Archdeacon gave improper responses, full of tricks and lies.

CHAPTER IV

MY STAY AT THE CASTLE OF UPPER COCHIN, AND THE DESCRIPTION OF SOME ASPECTS OF THOSE COUNTRIES

I did not enter the city of Cochin, but remained in a house outside it for due respect and for negotiating some important matters. There, many visited me. I went to the castle, where the chapter, the captain and many chevaliers came to give me support. I received from each of them many honours, but Emmanuel Pereira de Motia - the captain of the castle, a person of great merit, most sincere and potent, who with noble scars demonstrated in himself

the badges of many conquests and other illustrious enterprises - excelled all others in giving me the most singular thanks.

My habitation was in a small house on a brook in the castle, but most convenient for the Christians of St Thomas, who dispersed in the whole of Malabar, could easily go there through the water, since Malabar is divided into big and small islands, irrigated by many lakes, and very beautiful and clear rivers, among which the one of Alangad carries the boast. It is a recreation centre of Cochin, but true destruction due to incredible expenses, which the nobles and citizens continuously incur there. They go their in boats, which are like small galleys and in *thonis* (small boats). Such boats have a small house in the middle with all conveniences, where they stay even for entire months, passing time in those tender delights of baths and washings.

The St Thomas Christian women are the most decorous in their dress, because covered by a half shirt (blouse) called "bagiù" and enclosed in a very big white sheet, they cover the chest and shoulders, letting it fall also from the head. They carry at the neck, ears and wrists very beautiful ornaments of gold and at the feet big silver rings, those being always naked, because in the whole of India stockings are not used, except by a few Europeans. On the contrary the Portuguese women of those regions dress less decorously. Though the gentile Indian women cover the whole body only with a palm leaf, they are nevertheless dressed up in a certain colour, which falls from head to the feet. Among the people of Malabar it is a sign of great nobility to have big ears; hence they make them grow with saddle art until the shoulders, with very heavy hangings, consequently moving to the level of ridiculous contempt. It is prohibited to the St Thomas Christian men and women, in order to differentiate themselves from the gentiles. Nevertheless many do it, both men and women, although all supply this by carrying the rosary, hanging at the neck, of the most Holy Virgin or rolled up in the tuft of hair, twined over the head, which can be said to be rather big, the men being vested like the other people of Malabar, unless the most important ones at times cover themselves with a juba (Cabaia) of white sheet, until the knee. However in India the mode of dressing varies very much, especially in Surrat, which the mind can hardly imagine.

Some vest in the worst possible manner and go completely naked, covered only with a palm leaf or a small piece of cloth not wider than three or four fingers, covering the least possible and this is true both of men and women. This manner of dressing is not out of use in those places, nor does it cause any wonderment.

In the beginning, when I was at the castle, there unexpectedly came a very strong tempest and it seemed that the whole world was trembling. It began in the evening and knocked down many very big trees around our house, with the danger of demolishing it. The river grew in such a way that it flooded the whole place. The strong rain with the wind did not leave any dry place in the house. The captain wanted us to be in the castle during that flood, there too, not even a hand's span of space was found to be recovered, and it was necessary to stay the whole night sitting in a corner without any rest, hearing the cries and weeping of the women running to the church, and of others who confessed through the palmetto to one of my companions, as if already a new deluge might absorb the earth. That untamed tempest lasted for about sixteen hours and was considered to be the most fierce, that had battered those regions for a long time.

It destroyed many houses in those surroundings, but the greater massacre was that of the trees and fruit plants, especially the palm trees, which in India do not produce dactyls, but coco or the nuts of India, and are principal real estate, giving great and most diverse fruits. Shortened their buds above, they throw a great quantity of liquor similar to must, the ordinary drink, which they call toddy, and from the very same vinegar is made. Distilled, it is like our strong wine, which they call arrack or *nippa*, which corresponds to our brandy, if boiled much. With toddy and rice powder *appams* are made, which replace our bread. Inside the green coco there is a great quantity of most perfect water. The first rind consists of an infinite number of very long threads, from which canopies and ropes better than ours are made. The second rind is very strong, of which are made different kinds of vases. Inside this second rind there is a whitest medulla, half a finger thick which man can eat and it has the taste of almonds. When it is fresh, milk is made for seasoning rice, and being dried, it is used to make oil, which is the common oil in the country. In the middle

there is water in a big hollow, enough to satisfy any thirsty person. Red sugar, which is generally used, is made from toddy. The new buds, fresh at the top, called little palms, are of most wonderful art and tasteful, like the flavour of a thistle. Out of the rams and leaves mats are made for covering houses. Leaves also serve as paper for writing, which is done with a bore or a pointer stick, and as speedily as we write on ordinary paper and they last equally as long as parchment. There is no wonder, if it is said that with this tree alone a ship can be made and equipped, while its trunk gives tables, girder of trees, antennas, rams, very strong nails as well as big and thin mats, which serve as sails. Moreover these trees give coco, robes, vases and goods of wine, sugar and oil. Thus God knows how to compensate in only one plant the absence of many others. There are other kinds of palm trees, like the ones of *adacka*, and a strong or wild one, with leaves so big that they arrive at twelve and fifteen palms large, nine or ten palms high, with long points (capes), which are like ventilators.

India has very many fruits, and among the principal ones, besides coco, the most delicate "Atta" (banana), the little inferior Mango, the odorous iamb, the most tasty figs of Adam, the very crafty cashew nut, which on the outside has a kind of bone with the figure of a heart, various kinds of pineapples similar to a pine cone in form, though tender, and to strawberry in taste, the large jackfruit, the biggest fruit ever seen. There are very many other fruits, of which I am not writing, because Fr Mathew of St Joseph, one of my companions, composed some books about them, perfectly delineating their qualities and shape, which if printed, will be interesting, since the plates (food-course) of India completely differ from those of Europe (except the citrus fruits), so also the herbs, of which the said Father has yet to treat.

In the Indies flowers are not very many, nor can one find variety, but there are several kinds of most beautiful birds - blue, green, vermillion, yellow, red and mixed ones - among which there are parrots, arachnids, doves, crows and starlings, superior to all others in chattering, but few like their song.

CHAPTER V

THE STATE OF THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA AND THE OTHER REASONS THAT MADE THE DEAL DIFFICULT

During my stay in the said fortress many Portuguese, who came from Cochin, frequently visited me and unanimously deplored their losses or better still, their latest ruin at the hands of the Dutch. They recalled their ancient victories, triumphs and conquests of Ormus, Aden, Muscket, Diu, Bengal, Malacca, Macao as well as many other tributary kingdoms, famous cities and most fertile islands, especially the richest Ceylon and the control of the seas and coasts of the Indies. They narrated stories about their captains: Vasco da Gama, Don Francis d'Almeida, Duarte Pacecco, Alfonso Alburcherque and many others. They came to lament about their miserable catastrophe and their latest extermination in Ceylon, an island of 800 miles round, which is said, to have gardens of cinnamon, mountains of crystal, rivers of gems. This island is distinguished into five kingdoms (with the exception of Cingala, residing in Kandy, its principal city) which were all almost under the command of the Portuguese, who considered it more important than all the Indies. This was lost at the end of May (1657), the year I reached those parts. Nothing more remained to the Portuguese than Diu, Daman, Bassein, Chaul and Goa, Kannur, Cranganore, Pallipuram, Cochin, Quilon, Jaffnapattinam, Teticorin, Manara, Nagapattinam, and Mylapore, with the conquests of Africa. All other places were lost: Baharain and Ormus to Persians; Masckat and Aden to the Arabs; Onor, Mangalore, Barcelor and Cambolim to Canara; Bengal to the Mongols; Macao in China, if not lost, was subjected to Tartaro; Malacca, Gall, Nicombo, Colombo and the whole of Ceylon to the Dutch, who immediately passed on to close the port of Goa. The Dutch became the lords of all those seas, famous for victories, esteemed for money, mighty for ships and conquests, rich for the domain of drugs and important for their voyages in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Gulf of Bengal, China,

Japan, Manila, Moluccas, Borneo, Sumatra and Major Java, where they founded the strongest Jakarta or new Batavia, their emporium in Asia. On the contrary the Portuguese were crushed down, although with the sure hope of prospering soon to the glories, dominating again the oceans, subjecting to themselves as before the lost kingdoms and confiscating even greater ones.

The weakness of the Portuguese at that time increased mine too, for I was not able to receive their help which would have been necessary to beat the pride of the Archdeacon and to win over his obstinacy. In fact, negotiations in Malabar were not to be expected to progress without much money and the use of force. As everyone agreed, Malabar was in a worse state compared to when D. F. Alexis de Menezes reached there accompanied by a big convoy of nobles and soldiers and in his status as the Metropolitan of Goa and the Primate of the East Indies, with the support of the Portuguese State, then victorious and feared of, and with more than 15 thousand scudi. Yet he toiled very much to reduce them and was in danger of death several times. This happened, despite the good will and the sincerity of faith (though schismatic) of Archbishop Abraham, deceased a little before. Now, what could have I done, a poor Discalced Carmelite with only three companions and without any help in such a miserable time, with a population so savage, arrogant, opportunistic and ignorant and who maintained a sworn fidelity to the one they themselves had voluntarily chosen?

That which made the deal more difficult was the fact that these Christians were subjected to many princes and gentile kings among whom the more important were those of Calicut (Samorin), Cochin, Travancore, Kaduthuruthy (Vadakkenkur) and Kottayam (Thekkinkur). Under the first and the third there are very few churches; under the second fourteen and under the penultimate twenty-four, among which is Kuravilangad, hometown of the Archdeacon, who although a good friend of the prince, was not appreciated by the king, who always opposed his impudence. Not long after the displacement of the St Thomas Christians of the Coromandel Coast, who went to the kingdoms of Malabar in order to unite themselves with the Christians of those places, there arrived a rich Armenian (Chaldean), who settled there and obtained

from the King of Cranganore a lot of privileges such as the ones that gave him the right to adorn the hair with gold ornaments in wedding ceremonies, to sit on a carpet and ride on elephants, things lawful only to the sons of the king, a title that these Christians held as a matter of fact. This Armenian, called Thomas of Cana, had a house with a wife and children in the southern part, but had another house in the north with a concubine of *nayar* blood, though a Christian, and had children from that union as well. Upon his death the inheritance was divided equally among all. In the course of time both groups (legitimate and illegitimate) greatly multiplied and united with the already existing Christians of the land, who because of them broke into two factions, the one called Vadakkumbhagar or Northists, with whom were the greatest number of illegitimate ones; the other group is called Thekkumbhagar or Southists, who are found only in Diamper, Kottayam, Thodupuzha (Turgoli) and Kaduthuruthy, although Vadakkumbhagar affirm and defend the contrary, claiming themselves as the true legitimate ones.

The antipathy of these two factions is so great that there are no inter-marriages. They have neither common churches nor priests from the other group. This continues to be the same till this day though the great Menezes tried to remedy this. They are so tenacious in their aversion and fixed in their resolutions, however perverted those be, that even if once they succeed in winning over their mutual distrust, not long after it falls again and even more times. Thus, in the absence of bishops and priests, due to wars, they compelled a deacon to celebrate the Mass and to ordain priests until they repented over their errors and sent a delegation to the Patriarch of Babylon in order to have a bishop who might rule over them. The Patriarch sent three, one for Sokotra, the other for Masina or Tibete and the third with the title of the Archbishop of Malabar. Thereafter Archbishops to the See of Malabar were always provided for by Babylon, which having swayed from the right faith due to the miserable fall of Nestorius in the year 486, infected these Christians with its errors by sending to them schismatic prelates and this situation lasted till the visit of Menezes. Not long before the said visit the ancient impiety was renewed in a certain Joseph, the Armenian. These Christians

received from him sacred Orders, which he himself did not have and they subjected themselves to him as if he were their bishop. Later on they did the same with another called Abraham. Presently they have done it once again with their Archdeacon. They have, thus, lost the purity of faith. They had always claimed to be Catholics but they meant of Babylon and not of Rome. They never said it in public for they abhorred the title of heretics and schismatics, thus refusing the infamy of the title, but not of the works, without considering the fact that they were enemies of God, when they turned a deaf ear to advice. At the beginning they told Menezes with diabolic obstinacy that the Law of St Peter was not the same as that of St Thomas, asserting that the one was head just as the other and that between them there was neither dependence nor any pre-eminence.

CHAPTER VI

WE GIVE UP HOPE ALMOST ENTIRELY AND THEN THE SITUATION IMPROVES,

Almost all the Christians of Malabar and the very Archdeacon declared themselves to be obedient sons of the Roman Church and of the Supreme Pontiff, though they did not show this obedience in action. Some dared to renew the ancient recklessness declaring that they followed the Law of St Thomas, their Apostle and not of St Peter. They are ill-disposed for good, but are very astute in evil affairs and are full of pride, except a few who are very considerate and talented. To this group belonged Mani *Mappila*, and Unnikurian of Muttuchira, Ittiacen of Alangad, Ittikkuruvila, vicar of Muttom, Chandy of the Cross, vicar of Kuravilangad, and Chandy Kadavil, vicar of Alangad who always took my part, favouring me and aiding me very much. Through them the churches of Kuravilangad, Muttuchira, the small one of Kaduthuruthy, Muttom, Palai and others were gained. However, at times fear rendered them utterly incapable and I remained afflicted beyond limits seeing the affair lost without the least hope. To this was added other torments such as the warning that my foes were

plotting to give me poison, that they appealed to many kings of the land in order to expel me from Malabar and the Indies with the order of one of them and that they propagated a thousand infamies and calumnies against me and other things that I cannot and should not state here. All these were the final efforts to batter me and to precipitate me into an abyss of pusillanimity and diffidence, because I saw heaven shut up, the world injimical and hell opened before my eyes. All these brought before me my insufficiency for so great a task, the temerity in ascertaining the affair, the emerging impossibility and the scruple of having taken part in the loss of so many souls, who could have been saved through other suitable means... The most afflicted I turned to the Lord and said: here I am, God of mercies, abandoned by all in the profundity of miseries. Already human help for me is ended; I have become useless to myself and for others. Why did you deliver me from tempests, save me from very many perils, and place me in Malabar, if everything was to be lost, if I were to be shipwrecked in the port? The affair is yours, and it costs your blood, if because of myself it is lost. If my sins constitute an impediment to the enterprise, vindicate me with another person, without prejudice to so many souls. The punishment, just as the guilt be upon me alone: if to produce results you want my blood and life in sacrifice I readily offer them with much affection. Take my life by natural or violent death, so that you may place on the shoulder of another person this burden which aggravates mine, since mine is almost oppressed. Do you fear that maybe by the success of the affair I become proud and you lose me? Do not doubt that I usurp the glory. I promise to proclaim always before the world that I was an impediment and was useless for the venture; that any other person would have dealt with and better concluded the deal. I am ready to confirm with an oath this protest, If you do not have confidence in my humble presentation. However all human industries are vain before you. Always you have to stretch out your arms, which healed wounds, to manifest to the world my deficiency and your efficacy. Accomplish the conversion of Malabar and terminate my life. Have you not got anything in the arsenal of your justice to hammer out the pride of the Intruder, to confound my vanity and to gain as a whole so many souls? Has the death which daily takes away

many of those persons, perhaps blunted its sickle in front of the arid twigs of Ittithomman and “Tombona”, old and obstinate Nestorian heretics? Why are the sepulchres full of good people useful to the world, while there remain the houses of malicious people, who infect the universe? The miracles of St Thomas converted so barbarous a people; now only will your (God's) miracles be able to bring them back to the right path. Thus not mine, but yours will be the entire glory. At times I repeated such soliloquies in my great distress, which the Lord deigned to lessen with hopes or to reduce with some success or to lighten with not letting them be fully known.

News reached me at the fortress that those of Kandanad, the most insolent group in the assembly, immediately after their return from Edappally entered into conflict with the *nayars* for a silly thing and injured one of their women, the most serious offence that one can inflict upon them. These *nayars*, making themselves *chavers*, assaulted them with great fury and destroyed their bazaar and constrained many to flee for life and others to take refuge inside the church for a few days, thus the same place, where days before they swore to follow obstinately the Archdeacon, served as their prison. The news spread like wild fire and superstitious as these peoples were, it had a great effect in dissuading them from favouring the Intruder. The death, calamitous and unexpected, of a certain Ittiavira from Alangad following a fall, immediately after his return from the same meeting, where he stood a dogged supporter of the Intruder and insulted in all possible manner those who sought to find a salutary solution and sung many verses in honour of the false Patriarch, also turned out to be of help. He died having confessed, but for his greater punishment, to a false priest. At the same time there took place a matrimony in Angamaly and some wanted a priest ordained by the Archdeacon to assist the ceremony but others, having known the happenings at Edappally did not absolutely want him to assist. A furious row broke out and in the end good men prevailed. That was a very useful example for the whole of Malabar. The assembly of Edappally, though before considered to be useless, or rather noxious, proved helpful to our cause, since voices spread (also thanks to those from Muttom, my supporters, who were present there) that nothing was decided at the

assembly because I declined to the Archdeacon's request to consecrate him immediately as a bishop and in making such a request by his own mouth he declared that he was not already a bishop. He thus lost his credit among good people. It happened, at the same time, that the vicar of Edappally, brother of the Archdeacon came to Kuravilangad and machinated so as to incite that church and other churches against me. He, who before calumniated that I stole the chandeliers, lamps and money of St George, on the absence of the vicar, was caught red-handed with the chalice and other things by the sacristan and this latter seeing him further trying to break open the mite box shouted and the people came running and found he who accused me of stealing blushing. The governor of the place sent four *nayars* who sequestered him inside his house and surroundings and he had to meet all the expenses for the same, causing very great discredit to the Archdeacon, upon whose order he came to Kuravilangad to do him that same wonderful favour as the one he had already executed at Angamaly. The Archdeacon avoided coming to Kuravilangad for fear of the king, who did not permit him to enter any of the churches in his kingdom. Thus it happened that the Archdeacon paid him a huge sum, which he hoped to compensate for his visit to St Mary Major. The Archdeacon wrote among other things a diabolic letter (*ola*), intercepted by a sober Christian, in which he ordered a Christian concubine of a certain gentile prince to co-operate with him to prevent all priests ordained by the Archbishop from celebrating the Mass in the churches of his dominion. When this letter was brought to light, it provoked a very grave scandal, causing the Archdeacon to lose much of his credit. This happened because of the providence of God.

Many Christians came to invite me to their churches, but I sent them back satisfied saying that I could better serve them being in the fortress, where I was continuously negotiating on their behalf. However, I went to Diamper, heeding the repeated requests of the population, who wanted me to assist at the feast of Sts Gervasius and Prothasis. I was taken to that place by the Christians in three boats. In the solemn procession amidst fireworks, drumbeat, and the play of other musical instruments I carried the relics of the Saints through their bazaar in the sight of Muslims and

gentiles, walking over very big mats which the devotion of the people prompted them to spread out. The homily was made in Malayalam; the Mass was sung in Syriac and lasted three hours. Thereafter the women retired to a place near the church and only the men remained.

First, large leaves of the figs of Adam were distributed among both groups; and then four immense bronze cauldrons of food. They did not taste it until I gave the blessing. They wanted me to taste it and I did so. A great number of gentiles, men and women, who shouted from a distance for alms, were also contented. After the lunch, having said thanks, I immediately asked leave to return to the fortress, where much work awaited me. They wanted me to stay longer. That, however, being impossible on that occasion, I was led to see the whole bazaar, where suddenly two Christian soldiers appeared, who wanted to fight in order to entertain me. They fought, armed with sword and shield, with great art and agility, always ready to attack and to defend. A great part of the population accompanied me till the carriage, where they offered me a lot of palm leaves. Some of them together with the vicar took me back to the fortress in three big boats always singing and showing infinite cheerfulness.

One day, late in the evening came to me a certain Ittiareccia, a gentile from Alangād, very serious in appearance, with a secret letter from Chāndy Kadavil, one of the most influential in the whole of Malabar. In the letter he assured me of the reduction of the Archdeacon and requested from me a big sum for the Archdeacon's urgent necessities, promising to pay it back at the earliest and asking me to send it through the person, who brought the letter. I informed the captain of the fortress, who wanted to arrest the visitor, suspecting that he had been sent by the Archdeacon. However, I did not permit it because it could very well have been the truth. I sent him back with a message that only the true Chāndy could have understood. The next day I sent a clever young man to Alangād who returned to inform me that Ittiareccia had come from Edappally, being sent by the Intruder.

CHAPTER VII

PASSAGE TO MUTTOM AND THE CONVERSION OF THAT POPULATION

Seeing things were well-disposed, I set out to Muttom and on the way I received a letter (*ola*) from the King of Cochin inviting me to go over there so as to discuss my affairs with him and promising me help. Upon arrival in Muttom, I was received with great honours. As soon as I landed at that port, the son of the King of Kaduthuruthy informed the King of Cochin of my arrival, who the next morning sent me two governors in his turn. Those messengers greeted me in the name of their Lord and said that he desired ardently to be informed of my negotiations so as to give me opportune help. I thanked him displaying all my affection and informed them of everything. Since they were slow to understand the things of our Religion I made use of some comparisons with theirs. Appreciating the offer and imploring the favour of the prince I said: it is kingly magnificence to favour the ministers of other great men in their negotiations, thus gaining new friendships and honours. Since I knew that with the gentiles only human politics count, I added that if he were not to repress the temerity of the Archdeacon, it would be an example for other vassals to rise violently to the Crown, as he did with regard to the mitre. I added that the Supreme Pontiff (whose majesty I explained, to their great wonder) obliged him not only to suppress scandals among his subjects but also to please his Person by supporting the Portuguese. At the end, with many examples, I told them that God always prospered those kings, though pagans, who favoured the Christians. They went back satisfied and said that soon I would be able to have an audience with the King. But I could not do it, since he left for other affairs as I came to know from the Queen, who though very old, was found in the battlefield against the Samorin at Trichur. But, before leaving, the King ordered his governors to favour me in all matters and to write letters in his name to all the churches in his kingdom, without exception and to the Archdeacon himself. But I did not much care for him and the other kings who offered to do the same because I knew that they easily wavered in

their promises, that they did everything for their own interests, that it was not expedient to negotiate over the things of our faith with gentiles and that it was impossible to obtain the reduction of the Archdeacon with the use of force, as many had previously tried in vain, with much expense. Those days some had resumed the same old tactics with the King of Kaduthuruthy. I too participated in this endeavour, but only secretly and without diligence since I entertained a strong prejudice against the whole affair.

That village (Muttom) was the strongest in its adherence to the Archdeacon and when I reached there I had the impression of having few supporters. On the feast of Mary Magdalene during the Mass the whole church was filled with priests and people. After the Mass, while I was taking off the vestments, my companions and one of the interpreters approached me and related how the vicar, priests and the whole population had implored pardon for the sins committed regarding the intrusion of the Archdeacon. They further informed me that all of them had promised never again to follow him, that they were ready to give obedience to the Roman Church and to accept me as the Apostolic Commissary, that they had placed themselves entirely in my hands and supplicated me to absolve them from whatever censures they had incurred because of the past errors. I was overwhelmed with joy, that being the first church which gave publicly and through a common accord, the due obedience, thus serving as an example for the other churches. I made good use of the said feast to exhort them and to praise them on their conversion. I then absolved them with infinite affection while they remained prostrated beating their chest.

The vicar of the place played a big role in securing such a generous resolution. In his homilies, discourses and exhortations, public as well as private, he openly declared the deceptions of the Archdeacon and the necessity to obey the Roman Church. He sustained that I was the true Apostolic Commissary sent by His Holiness and was even ready to make fire-proof of it, while others wanted to do the same in order to sustain the contrary, in the Archdeacon's favour. See how great a service can a good pastor do for the salvation of his flock! What did not the Intruder-wolf do and say to deceive the flock and drag it from the right path! All was in vain or rather to his ruin. The good vicar was extremely

vigilant and succeeded in confounding and converting those who were sent to suborn his people. He used to preach to those who would come to that bazaar, well frequented by the Christians of St Thomas; wrote to many; exhorted everyone concerning the purity of faith, without fear and sparing no pains. He was 45, an exemplary ascetic, always happy.

There was at Muttom a Portuguese slave, a fugitive from Cochin, who, either being suborned or the intellect being damaged or still being instigated by demon, asserted that I was from their country (Portugal) and that four years ago he had seen me in Cochin. Others affirmed that I was from Calicut and that I had some particular marks thanks to which I could easily be identified as such. All these spread throughout Malabar and I was much suspected and looked on with prejudice.

CHAPTER VIII

MY RETURN TO THE FORTRESS AND FROM THERE AGAIN TO MUTTOM FOR A MEETING

I could stay only a few days in Muttom since bad water caused me great troubles and I was forced to return to the fortress, with the greatest emotion of those good Christians who daily presented me with fruit or other things, in accordance with their poverty; they did not want me to depart. Here I saw the most bizarre custom of marketing among the gentiles of different castes, because the nobles, so as not to approach the lower castes, have to put money on the ground and go away, then the latter come and take it. They depart, after leaving the goods there, and then the nobles come to take them, the suspicion of plagues being prevalent among them. Furthermore the Pulayas or land labourers cannot stay together with others, nor pass through inhabited places.

Upon my return, I had the pleasure of taking part in two big feasts in the city of Cochin, which were celebrated with the participation of a great number of people. In the evening I was honoured by two choirs, which sang in various languages, but the

Singhalese music and songs pleased me the most. In those regions during processions very beautiful Moorish dances are conducted, but I could never see them, being engaged in carrying the Most Holy or some relics. In connection with these feasts there was also a marriage, for which very many people, including gentiles came. Due to my obligations towards the brother of the spouse and towards the captain of that place I was bound to be the minister. On that occasion I received numerous presents, especially from a very important governor of Cochin.

While we waited for the meeting, to be held on the Feast of the Assumption, I sent my companions several times to different parts and wrote frequently to many churches as well as to the leading Christians of the land, in order to bring them back from the Archdeacon to the obedience of the Roman Church. The Intruder and his men were no less diligent. They harassed all those who had abandoned their group and those who had been ordained or re-ordained validly by the true prelate. They procured to do this through the local princes, availing themselves of the favour of some of their concubines or through the insolence of their supporters. Because of this the good people were so intimidated that they would not dare to convene a new meeting and pretended that I might leave the things as they were and return to Rome in order to obtain permission for the valid consecration of the Archdeacon. I found myself involved in a hopeless deal; only God knows how much I suffered. Not one of my friends, whether native or Portuguese, could suggest to me a way out and they unanimously urged me to abandon the mission. I was about to do so, but as a last ditch attempt I wrote with great resentment to many priests and to the main churches that I had resolved to leave since they were determined to be ruined together with the Intruder but that before leaving, I wanted to congregate the churches of Thekkumbagar, which, having learned of the evil intents of the Archdeacon, were finally reduced to the obedience of the Roman Church and of the true prelate, in order to present them with the briefs and to excommunicate the Intruder and his followers and then to embark for Rome, whence they need not expect any further remedy since I had already satisfied all the demands of Rome and that they themselves were responsible for their destiny since the

Roman Church had no particular responsibility or interests in their regard.

Those letters rekindled the hearts of many who made every effort to procure a new meeting and I myself followed suit inviting many churches and some serious priests, among whom were two Christians of St Thomas belonging to the bishopric of Cochin, Kunjavira and Uduppu *Mappila*, men of great prestige and judgment, to negotiate with the Archdeacon. They succeeded in inducing him to address me two humble letters, sparking off in them the hope of his conversion. I too was overcome by joy and responded to him with due affection. In those days I received letters from the churches of Vaipicotta and Alangad inviting me to come over there. They wanted the Archdeacon to submit and were he to remain obstinate they would abandon him. The local prince also exhorted me to do the same, keeping up his earlier promise made to the city, the chapter, the captain and the president of Cochin to do whatever was in his power to humble the Archdeacon and to bring him under my obedience.

As the appointed time for the meeting neared, I reached Muttom with great pomp and decorum, accompanied by the distinguished clerics of Cochin, the captain of the fortress and another gentleman, formerly captain of Quilon. This being the octave of the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, I learned that Ittithomman had publicly preached in my favour in the main church of Kaduthuruthy exhorting everyone to render me obedience. He himself wrote to the four churches of Angamaly, Vaipicotta, Alangad and Parurr, to the great surprise and benefit of all. Though at that time he showed the willingness to obey, a little later I came to know that he had been negotiating secretly in favour of the Archdeacon, who even sent twelve soldiers, guards of the King of Kaduthuruthy, most favourable to him, to disrupt the meeting. Those soldiers, who though there at first tried to cause us trouble, were brought to the knees in a shoot out with the supporters of the Archbishop and were converted. They offered to defend me and even to die in my defence if that were necessary.

When the meeting finally assembled, I suggested that it was a shame on that Christendom not to have received the Apostolic Commissary for so long and not to have given up such a manifest

error; that I could not do anything to further their good; that it was high time for them to realize that the thing at stake was not any petty interest, but their eternal salvation; that I did not want to use the help of local princes and force them, since I hoped that the dictates of conscience and the desire for salvation would suffice my purpose.

They responded unanimously that once the truth was brought to light they would be ready to obey me and accept me as the Apostolic Commissary and as their superior; but that I should propose means to reduce that entire Christendom to the right path. I went on to read the letters recently received from the Archdeacon and from the churches of Vaipicotta and Alangad. When I finished, an air of joy filled the assembly, having heard that the Archdeacon himself had addressed me as the Apostolic Commissary. But still there persisted different opinions: while the Southist churches, already subjected to the Archbishop, wanted everything to be resolved at once to the detriment of the Archdeacon, others, the most numerous, disapproving divisions in Malabar and desirous of the reduction of the Archdeacon, without which no tranquillity could reasonably be expected, wanted a middle course, equally acceptable to both parties. These latter suggested that I write to the Archdeacon and to the above-mentioned two churches asking them to go over to Mattancherry - a place in between the two and for that reason very convenient - and informing them that we too would join them. All that was necessary for the good of that Christendom could be decided over there. Having despatched those letters, we all left for Mattancherry.

In the *ola* or letter for the Archdeacon, the assembly left out the titles of Bishop, Archdeacon and instead gave him the title of "Cascimane" or the principal person of Malabar. He could have long retained the new title, having lost the title of Bishop and with that also the credit of both prelate and Archdeacon.

CHAPTER IX

TRANSFER OF THIS ASSEMBLY TO MATTANCHERRY, AND WHAT WAS RESOLVED IN IT

Having passed near Mattancherry, outside of Cochin, I sent one of my companions to Vaipicotta and Alangad to operate more effectively; from where two were sent to Edappally, in order to know the decision of the Archdeacon. He responded with regard to the assembly with a very blunt letter, excusing himself with frivolous impediments that he was unable to come to Mattancherry. He wrote to submit himself to everything that the Assembly would determine. This was not enough; all knew that how easy it was not to keep the promise, even though written and signed by his own hand. Some soldiers of the King of Kaduthuruthy were sent to him and the two, who had induced him to write to me. He lamented to them gravely, saying that they had deceived him, and that I had not proceeded as a serious person in publishing the said letters. In the same way he disdained also the soldiers. But reaching the two messengers of the churches of Alangad and Vaipicotta, who were the most principal cassanars, he became moderate, and after many difficulties, wrote to me, using the title of Commissary come from Roma, and insisting that the assembly be conducted at Alangad, because he had fear that in Mattancherry he would be insulted, since it was very near to Cochin. He sent to Mattancherry the aforesaid priests, who in his name, and of the two churches indicated, and of the Prince of Alangad did everything possible to transfer the assembly to that place. Bu the incidents of Edappally rendered it cautious; and having assembled in St Thomas, a very neighbouring church, he was told that the said transfer was not convenient. Since many days passed after the opening of the assembly, it was not possible to defer it for a long time. Hence on a nearby day the letters would be read and the issue would be concluded.

The following day, very early in the morning, came a serious Christian, from the Archbishop's group, with two others of his

faction, who animated by true spirit and zeal, notified me and guaranteed me with an oath that if on that day I read the briefs, it would have provoked a very grave disturbance, and some deaths in the assembly itself; that it would have closed the door to the reduction of other churches and everything would have been lost. So I might abstain from what I was doing. Other priests and prominent persons, who were overly anxious, warned me of the same. Neither I nor other persons found another remedy, but to present the briefs, and let them to be read to them or not, according to the deliberation of the assembly, of which it began to be afraid more than that of Edappally, and the affair was seen in a worst state.

Because of this I invited to that act - and were present - only the president of the chapter, the vicar general, the Commissary of the Holy Office, and a very few clerics and gentlemen of Cochin. The two priests of Vaipicotta and Alangad again made instance for conducting the assembly at Alangad, promising in the name of the said places that if the Archdeacon did not want to obey, on their part, with other churches, they would abandon him completely and would subject themselves fully to me. I presented the briefs and made the elder priests recognize them, who asserted to all that they were most authentic. I asked the assembly to determine whether they be read or not; and indicated that I was ready for everything. Some priests and a serious *mappila*, called Kadavil Thommachar stood up, almost all from the Archbishop's group, and said that for that assembly it was enough only to see the briefs, to give me full trust in anything; that they subjected themselves to me and received me as Apostolic Commissary; that supposing the good disposition of those two principal churches, it was not good to read the briefs without their presence and knowledge lest they might be offended; that I might pass to Alangad with others; that from the assembly they could depart, because for very many it was necessary to return to their homes; since for much time they remained away; that they had subjected themselves in everything and gave their consent to what I and the assembly of Alangad would do and decide; that the 25 churches which were present there and seven others, which were entrusted to them, in their name and of the whole Christianity of Malabar - always in the past

sufficiently represented by the assembly of nine or ten churches - were giving obedience to the Roman Church. And having left the Intruder as false bishop and the true prelate (Francis Garcia), in order to avoid dissensions, they subjected themselves to me, so that I might govern them in everything, until otherwise being determined. These propositions were acclaimed by all with great joy and accepted by me; I embraced everyone with most tender affection. I absolved them from all the censures incurred, because of the heretical schism (then with little solemnity, reserving it for the assembly of Alangad), and with much festivity and tears of joy, that assembly terminated. I wanted to induce the assembly to sign in a sheet the things determined, but it was not possible, saying that if it was done, the briefs would not be read; the assembly obliged me not to write down anything, because among the people of Malabar, as public affairs were written down, so they finished. I was certain that they would have maintained with their life itself, the aforesaid things decided. That meeting terminated very late and in my journey to the house one-fourth of a league away, I was accompanied by the whole assembly with much pomp, and with rare instruments of concert, since God with his usual providence prepared not a small triumph, where was foreseen a ruin without any remedy.

CHAPTER X THE NEW ASSEMBLY AT ALANGAD

No sooner had the meeting of St Thomas finished than the two priests of Väipicotta and Alangad went to the Archdeacon and briefed him about its decisions and handed over to him a letter on my part in which I requested him to come to Alangad so as to conclude the deal once and for all. He was thus induced to answer me and to concede me again the title of Apostolic Commissary. In his reply he informed me that he would soon be going to the said place. Many, especially the leading Christians of Alangad advised me not to attend the meeting unless everything were to be adjusted in advance, thus ensuring the conversion of the Archdeacon and

the conclusion of the deal, so as to avoid any further affronts as in the case of Edappally. Anyhow, I sent there two of my priest-companions and two other clerics with opportune instructions: they were asked to deliver a letter of mine and to propose four points for discussion at the meeting. First, they reached Vaipicotta and were received with great joy, because news spread about the decisions of the meeting of St Thomas in the whole of Malabar and those were generally acceptable to all.

Having reached Alangad, they directly went to the church, where they paid a visit to the Archdeacon who was to be found wearing an episcopal habit, or to be precise, dressed up as a cardinal, being his overcoat (mozzetta) rose in colour. When the visitors greeted him in my name, he became offended seeing that I had not gone there in person. But they apologized saying that I was indisposed, as was I in all truth because of past toils. He was further given the guarantee that as soon as the deal showed some hope I would hasten there. After a few words of compliment the visitors returned.

This assembly turned out to be quite similar to the one of Edappally, because of the malice of the Intruder who invited the most insolent among his partisans, although there had been many sober men at the meeting, our supporters, one of whom, a certain Ittiachen, a very important person, who started negotiations in private with the Archdeacon, breeding great hope in his reduction. I was continuously informed of what had been going on, answered to what was proposed and resolved what was judged to be expedient.

Some of the important proposals of Ittiachen were: that the deposition of the Archdeacon could be yes public, but only verbal and through his own confession, blaming the Patriarch for everything; that I would command everyone not to recognize the Archdeacon as a bishop until otherwise decided, allowing him at the same time to retain the title and insignia; that the people and the King of Alangad wanted to write to Rome with the request that the Archdeacon be made a true prelate of that Christianity since it was necessary for conserving their honour.

These were some of the important points proposed first by Ittiachen and then by the assembly, to which were summoned the

fathers, who in the beginning presented them with a letter of mine. Though initially received with great reluctance, the letter was in the end acceptable to all, since it contained nothing but exhortations and words of affection.

This assembly was conducted in several sessions, in which the above-mentioned points were proposed and re-proposed and my pretensions evaluated. Then the fathers presented to the assembly another letter of mine, containing my demands, drawn out from the briefs, which were read publicly.

1. The Archdeacon and the whole population should render obedience to His Holiness, as to the Supreme Pastor of the universal Church.

2. They should accept me as the Apostolic Commissary sent to them by the same Pastor.

3. They should subject themselves to D. Francis Garcia, the true prelate given to them by the Roman Church.

4. They should never more recognize the Archdeacon as a bishop, since he was neither validly consecrated nor given by the Roman Church.

The assembly answered to the first that they had no difficulty; to the second, that they would do the same with every possible diligence; to the third, that they could not do so because of the reasons already expressed; to the fourth, that they would in substance do it but according to the modality contained in their proposals.

The fathers conveyed to the meeting my replies to some of those points and condescended with regard to some other details except where those touched the four points that I proposed, since I wanted at any rate that the deposition of the Archdeacon be made in the surest manner possible in order not to expose myself and that Christendom to a manifest deception. I let them know that once the Intruder returned to his old dignity he could not have used a habit other than that of the Archdeacon (which, they told me, would be either the same or only slightly different compared to the one he wore at that time) and as to the title, that it must not in any case remain since being false it would only serve to declare that he was a schismatic.

They inspired the hope of reaching a settlement and remained convinced that the Archdeacon was disposed to heed (the conditions), when all of a sudden, the latter showed himself totally alien and contrary to such adjustments. He openly said that he had nothing more to do with the religious since they had killed their Patriarch; that he was a true Patriarch sent to them by the Pope; that he possessed a brief from His Holiness which conferred on him the right to be the bishop and to nominate successors from his family, to which that diocese belonged by hereditary succession; that he did not show this brief so as not to be legitimated by His Holiness, but only by the Patriarch, and this in obedience to the latter's command. He went so far as to declare that the Patriarch was greater than the Pope and that if his Christians of St Thomas were to abandon him, he would inflict on them something to their great disgust.

These propositions and blasphemies of the Archdeacon terrified the good people of the assembly, who were really powerful. Having given some time for alteration or disavowal, they approached him with resentment, in order to implore him to change his ways. The Archdeacon apologized for his thoughtless words, blaming it on the fear of being seen as if he was lost, and began new negotiations, but secretly procured to disturb, or better disrupt that meeting. This he did through the King of Alangad, who made many false accusations against those good men and against one of his princes who chose to support us. The help of a concubine of the governor of that place was utilized for this achievement.

The assembly had been in session for about a month and the partisans of the Archdeacon together with a minority from among the Archbishop's group, on the pretext of many occupations, began to make every possible effort to annul the assembly and in fact they did. The Archdeacon in a secret meeting disclosed to his confidants that I needed to be exhausted so that I would leave the deal behind in despair (I came to know of it from one of his relatives, our secret informant). He revealed to the fathers that the meeting could not be continued any longer but that in Advent another meeting would be convened to the same end. The Fathers replied that similar meetings would not be necessary any longer

and that they cared nothing for them; that they would intimate this to me, but I would in no case accept it. Having been informed of all this, I sent to the Fathers the four customary warnings in peremptory terms against the Archdeacon so as to excommunicate him publicly. But the men on our side implored the Fathers not to present or publish them for the moment, since doing so would have offended not only the Archdeacon and his partisans, whose conversion ought to be procured with patience, but also the king, thus causing them considerable damage. Thus the Fathers refrained from publishing them.

CHAPTER XI

NEW EFFORTS MADE IN FAVOUR OF THE DEAL AND THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

I came to know that the Intruder was in correspondence with the Dutch at Kayamkulam, a marine town far away from Malabar; that he wanted to go there, since the churches of Alangad and Kuravilangad, protected by the Portuguese, were against him; and that he was trying to procure a bishop from Babylon for his consecration. The Archdeacon was forced to seek help from such a far-off city, since the churches of Alangad and Kuravilangad and those others nearby, all contrary to his projects, leaned towards, the Portuguese in all matters. The whole conspiracy was plotted by the astute *Cassanar* Ittithomman. I immediately warned the captain of Cochin of the damage that a similar move could cause to his city and he wrote to the kings of Alangad, Parur, Kaduthuruthy and Cochin, friends of the Portuguese, in order to block the project. I also indicated it to the governors of the Indies to the same end. I further asked the Capuchins of Surat and our fathers at Bassora, to be on guard not to let any schismatic bishop reach the kingdoms of Malabar. They could have done this easily since both were obligatory transits on the way to Malabar. Then I summoned a new meeting of several churches, in order to conclude the deal in some way because though I had been staying in Malabar for about

ten months, I could not have yet established (decreed) anything in writing.

A few days before the assembly of St Thomas, the four ember days of September, I sent many who were falsely promoted by the Intruder and others to be newly promoted to sacred Orders, to the Archbishop, whom I also informed of the meeting. And since it was later determined in the assembly that all the Ordinations in Malabar should be directly decided by me, I indicated this to him, requesting him to accept it benevolently.

The prominent priests of the assembly and other very serious persons requested me to do so, as if it was indispensable, for the success of the meeting of Alangad and for the conversion of the other churches, so that being informed of the numerous ordinations conferred by the Archbishop during those ember days (when the Archdeacon could not ordain anyone), they would become agitated. They would, in doing so, know that the ordinations were given with my consent and not independently (they would, in other words, maintain that the Archbishop gave Ordinations out of force and not willingly). I secretly met Fr Baretto, provincial superior of the Jesuit Province in Cochin (as I have done before), to whom I related in detail all that had happened at the assembly of St Thomas and the difficulty, or better the impossibility of reducing that Christianity so immediately to obedience to the Archbishop and the fathers of the Society. I informed him: that they ought to retain the same patience which they had been entertaining throughout the last five years; that time would soften the rough hearts of these Christians; that I proceeded in the affair prompted by necessity alone and not by any arbitrary project; that I was commissioned to do two things: to reduce that Christianity from the heresy incurred in believing the ordination of the Intruder to be valid and to subject it again to the true prelate; that I would willingly shed my blood for the realization of the one and the other, but I could not give up the first, which certainly mattered more, simply because the second had no possibility of success; that I chose to apply myself earnestly to the first in the hope that the second would follow after; and that I was extremely sorry to be less expressive in my intense desire to serve the Archbishop and the Society, even at the risk of my life, being obliged by the known affection of the Discalced Carmelites

and by my own solicitude for their Institute, to which I owed a very particular devotion, which being in our times the splendour of the Church and the honour of the schools. I added that the entire world would know the deadly blindness of the people of Malabar in that affair (which I encountered in its worst forms and many times) in repudiating so excellent masters of the young and Fathers so useful for the salvation of the souls. So also one could not cease to admire the prudence of the same Fathers in yielding to the just demands of that Christianity in order to calm them, as is done by a prudent doctor, who goes away from the sick, until the frenetic indignation, which intensely burns against him, ceases. He (the Provincial) referred to Diogenes, who replied to his friends, when they exhorted him to procure to regain one of his slaves, that fled: *Turpe est, manen sine Diogene posse vivere, Diogenem sine mane non posse.* I ensured him that when the affair demonstrated an opening, I would imitate Zopirus, the greatest friend of Darius, who pretending to be his greatest enemy among those of Babylon, became their captain and in a good opportunity, he subjected them to him. Similarly I had and would have always tried every way possible (to subject the St Thomas Christians to the Jesuit bishop).

Finally I discussed with the said Father about providing that Christendom with a governor. He agreed to make available, if that be the case and if there were no objections, the service of the president of the chapter of Cochin and vicar general. I left him fully satisfied. Later on I conveyed everything to the Archbishop, who shortly afterwards reached Cochin. He stayed in a house outside the city wall, near to mine, so that I could easily communicate with him through my companions and his secretary. I warned him against the insincere accounts of a certain Kochiacco and another *Cassanar* Paul, who pretending to be at his service, made representations that least resembled the truth. Anyway, he had already been informed of the truth by many in the city and by the chapter, which I recently visited.

Then I retired near to the Church of St Thomas, to a house where St Francis Xavier was said to have lived a few times. Though the days neared for the meeting, nobody came. My messengers returned from almost all churches with turbulent answers. Someone brought back my letters, being terrified by the

partisans of the Intruder, and it was necessary to send them again at great expense. News arrived from Goa, where ships from Portugal had recently landed, which disturbed Malabar and even the Portuguese very much. Among such disturbing news the death of Anthony Telles while at sea, the most valiant captain and the new Viceroy of the Indies.

All these reasons threw the whole deal into such irretrievable chaos (a rumour that somewhere under the Samorin's control, three schismatic bishops from Babylon had landed upon the Archdeacon's invitation, contributed to worsen the situation) that again it was in a desperate state and there were not lacking persons who insulted me because of this. I found myself sick, irritated and disheartened. My companions shared the same lot. Hence I was immersed in an abyss of afflictions, full of so many troubles that death would be much more sweet for me.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONVERSION OF A MAN FROM PARUR; FATHER HYACINTH ARRIVES IN GOA AND BAPTIZES MANY PAGANS

One day there came to me a very rough young man from Parur, a town of prime importance in Malabar but, at the same time, inhabited by rather bad people, who adhered most to the Intruder. He was brought by Kunjavira and Uduppu *Mappila* so that, after abjuring the errors, he might give me obedience. His obstinacy was so great that, after admitting to me that nobody could be a bishop without being consecrated by another bishop, that even all priests together could not ordain a single priest, unless by a bishop, that the Archdeacon was not consecrated by another bishop but by twelve simple priests, it was not possible to induce him, notwithstanding everything acknowledged, to admit that the said Archdeacon was not a bishop. Threats, reproaches and exhortations were of no use so that I was forced to drive him out in great disgust. God had castigated the said place of Parur after the

intrusion of the Archdeacon with evident signs, because two or three times fire attacked the houses of the Christians, burned them almost completely, leaving intact other houses among Moors and gentiles, who used to insult them because of this. Both here and elsewhere my partial facts reprimanded them for their errors and exhorted them to abandon the Intruder and to give me obedience.

The said young man of Parur, upon leaving my house, was so strongly pressed by Uduppu, Avira and others that he repented and wanted to return to me immediately with them, in order to beg my pardon. He knelt down before me and confessed, to my indescribable satisfaction, that the Intruder was not a bishop and then gave me obedience. I reckoned myself wholly repaid for all my toil with the salvation of this soul. At a certain point through his infinite providence God changed the course of events in such a way that everything turned out to be easy.

I received a letter from Goa from Fr Hyacinth of St Vincent, Apostolic Commissary and my companion, who reached there with a Portuguese fleet, that brought valuable merchandise from that kingdom. I spread the news all throughout Malabar to the great consolation of good people and to the equal disgust of the Intruder, who, in order to discredit him, made recourse to the usual falsity and astute acts, publishing that soon two or three Jesuits from Madurai would appear in Malabar, being vested like Discalced Carmelites, as if they came from Rome, and with long beards, in order to create the impression that they had passed through Turkey. But I had ways to immediately undo his lies.

The Kaimal or the prince of Anjikaimal visited me and conversed with me regarding my affairs and those of the Archdeacon. I remained so capable that he promised to favour me for the churches of his state in Anjikaimal and Kothamangalam, as later he did.

I had, from the chapter of Cochin the Roman Pontifical with pictures; I demonstrated and explained the pictures pertaining to the ceremonies of episcopal consecration both to the gentiles and the Christians, who used to visit me. And with these idiot people it was very efficacious, seeing clearly that the Intruder was not made a bishop in the appropriate manner indicated in the said Pontifical. I made use of many of such occasions to explain to the people how

the Roman Pontiff is created, his greatness and majesty, his domain and jurisdiction both in the spiritual and temporal affairs. I also made known to them about the cardinals of the Holy Church. There were many, who being astonished by the aforesaid things and after obtaining my permission, went to see the Moors, who lived among them, very proud of the three very vast empires of the Muslims, Turkey, Persia and Mongol. They preached to them about the greatness of our religion, which before they had not known, referring only very little to what they had understood before. Afterwards they used to return again to be informed of the powers of our princes and Christian kings and were amazed even at this, and again they used to go to insult the Moors with similar reports. They did it so often that it became something to laugh about, mostly when some of the interpreters were made to hear their words from some places, without being seen.

This was for me a reason for compassion for those who idolatrise the fame of their own name, sacrificing not only their sweats but also life itself to become famous in the world, because the aura of the more famous ones does not fly faraway, but only until there is a person of European language, who is known to the natives of Asia, Africa and America. This is true also of the potent captains and soldiers of any great Profession. When our ships from Europe navigate through some ports of the seas, they know only very little - and this too is very confused – about the more potent ones of the West, without the particularities of the reigning princes at present, nor of their court. And yet there is so much pride, pomp, luxury and vanity. Does one not work, that a most worthless manure (dirt) should exhale a little smoke? The Grand Mogul let himself be called “Scià Giaan”, the king of the world. What would be his pretext: to have the one-fourth of the world or to be the proprietor of everything? Recently he wanted to decapitate the ambassador of the King of Ethiopia, because he presented a letter to him without this title of “Scià Giaan”. How many similar ones we have in Europe, even among private persons? Vanity of applause does not entice the absent or delight the dead; the fame is nothing but smoke. Those who want to be immortalized in the world, travail in vain, where everything is tiny and mortal. Those Christians, who were insulting the Moors with

the things referred to by me, described them also to the gentiles, who wondered greatly, but without emulation, because they pretend still greater things of Genteelism in the concave of the moon and outside of the world. But some of them, being informed of the things of the faith, abandoned idolatry and became Christians. They were baptised by Fr Mathew, one of my companions, who attended them diligently, so that entire families would be converted. But the St Thomas Christians were not ready to deal with them, nor did they admit them to their churches, the latter being of lower caste, in order not to lose their nobility, without which they would be much disdained by the gentiles. I tried to remedy it, as Menezes had also done, but it was never possible, for the reason indicated. While I was staying in Muttom, an important Christian came from St Andrews, a neighbouring place of Malabar. The St Thomas Christians wanted him to depart immediately, since he was from a family of fishermen. But the good vicar stopped them with this sentence: "All can approach the fountain, where there is the unicorn, because it casts out every infection; where there is an Apostolic Delegate, there all can intermingle". I spoke many times with this Christian of St Andrews, who was called Andrea Pereira, the principal among those Christians, a herbalist and a very esteemed fencing-master. He was very dear to the King of Cochin, and through him I penetrated a number of important secrets with some utility.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LAST ASSEMBLY AT ST THOMAS AND THE DELIGHT IN COCHIN

Precisely one month passed after the desperate assembly, when on 10 December (1657), on the feast of Our Lady of Loreto the said vicar of Muttom came, accompanied by many priests, clerics and *mappilas*. After them other more principal ones arrived, and hence the assembly was held, in which I wanted to excommunicate solemnly the Intruder and to deprive him of all dignities and offices, substituting in his place (if it would be possible) a new archdeacon or another person to that effect (at least temporally), but the arrival of Fr Hyacinth of St Vincent, my colleague, persuaded me not to conclude the affair definitively, in order not to close the doors to him, willing to leave space for him to make more efficacious attempts with the Archdeacon. Hence I was content only to give some harmony necessary to that Christianity with the greatest peace possible.

As the assembly began, I exposed what had happened at Alangad and the stubbornness of the Intruder. I presented all the briefs of His Holiness and I read them out completely. But subjection to Archbishop Francis Garcia resulted in being completely impossible; but rather the assembly strongly insisted that he might not be able to give anymore sacred Orders to anyone in Malabar. I opposed them with such efficacy that at the end I made it a point: that they be content that he gave the Orders with the knowledge of and depending on the Apostolic Commissary. Since that was the time for Ordinations, I sent one of my companions with many falsely ordained and others for minor orders, numbering about thirty, to Francis Garcia in Cranganore. Although I was not aware of many of them, the Bishop did what was desired. Nevertheless I not only dissimulated, but also demonstrated that he did everything with my consent and knowledge.

I came finally to the main point of making the profession of the faith, with the confession of the errors committed and the promise not to fall in them ever again, to obey in everything and

completely the Supreme Roman Pontiff, the general sacred councils and the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide and to swear all these and to sign them with their own hand, to which they were induced. Although from the very beginning they wanted to change something of what was proposed to them, both in Portuguese and in Malayalam, with effective reasons, they were persuaded to swear it and to undersign it. They did it solemnly in my hands, kneeling down and swearing on a Crucifix and the holy gospels, in front of the altar, prepared for this with lighted candles, saying what follows:

**Profession of the Faith, Made by Many Churches of Malabar,
Translated into Italian from Malayalam and Portuguese**

We, the undersigned, freely and firmly believe and confess what the Holy Mother Roman Catholic Church teaches and especially that no one can be a true and legitimate bishop, without being consecrated by another bishop, with the order and permission of His Holiness. Therefore, we confess and detest our error committed particularly in this regard in the intrusion of Thomas Parambil (de Campo), the Archdeacon, as the Bishop of Malabar. We promise with a solemn oath never to fall again in such error in the future nor to consider as bishop the said Thomas Parambil or any other person, unless he is validly consecrated and given by the Holy Apostolic Roman See. And hence we consider null all that the same Thomas has until now done and disposed as a bishop and from now onwards we promise with a solemn oath, perpetual and firmest obedience to the Supreme Roman Pontiff, true head and universal pastor of all the Churches and to the eminent cardinals of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide. We wish to accept and observe the apostolic constitutions, the general councils and particularly that of Trent. All these we affirm and promise with solemn oath as they are written above. And in faith we have done the present in the Church of St Thomas outside the walls of Cochin on 15 December 1657 and in which we undersign in our name, in the name of our churches and on behalf of all other churches, of which we are procurators, on the same day and year, in Syriac language.

Only the priests undersigned the document, conforming to the custom of Malabar, and they did it, both in their name, in the name of their churches, and on behalf of those other churches, of which they were legitimate procurators. They ensured that already many of the other churches were on my side, although their heads were against.

Afterwards I absolved them from all the censures and irregularities incurred. I ordered them again not to absolve any person in Confession, unless he first swore to abandon the Intruder and to promptly obey the orders of the Apostolic Commissary (because in the past this helped me very much). I commanded them not to put the names of the false patriarch and the Archdeacon in the Divine Offices any more; to no longer use the oils blessed by the same; to publish that the Confessions and the other sacraments administered by those promoted by the Archdeacon were false and sacrilegious (except the sacrament of Baptism). I enjoined also other necessary things for the reform of that Christianity, dispensing also with many, who had contracted invalid marriages for the falsity and facility of the Intruder, with the obligation to contract it again, after dropping the impediments.

Afterwards I made them visit the captain and the governor of Cochin, offering themselves to their service, which was most pleasing to the said governor, who thanked them in the name of his king and ensured them protection. I also sent them to the (cathedral) chapter in order to thank it for the assistance and favours given to me for their affair and requested it to take away the excommunications fulminated against those who entered the churches of Malabar. Afterwards excommunication was prescribed only for the church of Edappally, since its vicar was a brother of the Intruder and for any other church, if it would return to the schism. The joy of the city was very great due to the very significant successes of that assembly for the restoration of friendship and far more for the utility deriving from it, namely the flow of provisions, which previously were very much lacking. When the Portuguese met the *cassanars* in the public streets, they affectionately embraced them, praised them, and invited them to their houses, with much satisfaction of the same *cassanars*, who could not contain their joy.

Since Fr Hyacinth, my colleague had arrived in the Indies, I should have departed from there for other very important affairs and I proposed it to the assembly, which it did not want to permit in any event. However, as I confided the urgency of my affairs to it, it consented, and gave me letters for His Holiness, for the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, for the governors of the Indies, for the Apostolic Inquisitors of the same and for the aforesaid Fr Hyacinth, because by his delaying to come to Malabar, I could not remain any more, since it was already at the end of the motion of that year in the seas of the Indies, which have a precise time for navigation from one part or the other. Hence I decided to leave in my place Fr Mathew of St Joseph, who was accepted promptly by the assembly, which I commanded to publish in all the churches what was done and decided in it. In three main churches I had my edict read, in which I intimated that all who had from now onwards permitted themselves to be ordained by the Intruder, would remain permanently incapable of priesthood. And finally the two eldest *cassanars* were elected, to whom was granted the task, in the name of the assembly and on my behalf, to make the final efforts to convert the Intruder, who was on the way to Kayamkulam. They found him to be a heretic and a schismatic who also turned out to be an atheist, because when threatened with hell, he said that there was nobody in the world who had seen it. Being reprimanded for his sins, he responded that he voluntarily carried them in his conscience. Being desperate and afflicted with the success of the assembly, he seemed to be deprived of discernment and sense. Where the false apprehension of interest and money precipitate man into? As a result of his obstinacy, he was abandoned by all, when his conversion desired by everyone would have been very advantageous for him.

CHAPTER XIV

WHAT WAS DONE FURTHER CONCERNING THE AFFAIR OF MALABAR, AND THE VISIT OF ANOTHER PRINCE

The assembly terminated with much festivity, after which other churches came, which could not reach in time and what was done in the assembly was repeated with regard to them. But the Southist churches, already followers of the Archbishop never appeared although they were invited many times, but I cared little about this, since the affair was already in good progress.

The Archdeacon could no longer give false Orders, but only the Archbishop could confer true Orders; he maintained the title of "Cascimane" or the principal person. In the seminary of Vaipicotta there were already more than twenty students of Malabar, some of whom were sent by me, where for four years there had only been a father rector with two *nayars* at the gate for protection.

Behold how far reaching the works of the Divine Mercy are for drawing out from the Egypt of numerous errors many of those poor Christians, who were so sweetly reduced to the right path, without any force of the princes or any kind of self-sufficiency of the one who conducted the affair. However, he moved their obstinate hearts, also with special miracles, apparent or true they might be, but efficacious with the Indians, who are most addicted to observations and augurs. But the most important of the prodigies and the shortest one, which God did in this work was the conversion of the most astute and cunning of the counsellors of the Intruder and the very same person who in the assembly of Edappally asked that the Intruder be made a bishop. It is not a minor thing that the majority of those people was induced to abandon the Archdeacon, whom they so much loved and esteemed, being of their own blood, something always considered impossible. However, I am constrained to confess, as I confess to the whole world, that with regard to the good things which occurred in Malabar, I did not have any part in them and for confirmation of the same with due reverence I call in testimony God himself. I

pray God to pardon the grave offences committed by me, wherever I could and I must have served him much more; and be deigned to perfect the work initiated and to give the already reduced the strongest perseverance, the Christians of Malabar being always inconstant, the most unsettled and very easily deceivable.

After the Assembly, with much festivity the feast of the Apostle St Thomas was celebrated in the church, where I stayed. Although this feast is celebrated everywhere on 21 December, nevertheless in Mylapore (which means city of peacocks) it is celebrated on 18 December, because on this day the Apostle was wounded in front of a Cross, engraved by him in white marble. There are others of black stone made by the same Saint in the kingdoms of the Malabar people, who are most devoted to such crosses. This fact serves for a demonstrative argument against the heretics of our time, namely the Iconoclasts, and enemies of the sacred images.

At this time Prince Kaimal of Alangad, brother-in-law of the king of the same place visited me. I discussed with him extensively the matters concerning Christianity and the Archdeacon, his friend. He told me: ‘really it is not possible to deny that the law of the Christians is supremely magnificent both for the order in governance and for the prodigies which are often seen. A man (meaning the Pope) with his letter, brought by Your Excellency, frightens a people living so many thousands miles away and shakes even the most courageous’. I made use of this occasion to describe the greatness of our Christian religion and descended to the particulars about the Archdeacon. I made him understand how much he (Archdeacon) deviated from true Christianity and how many disorders he had introduced, setting those Christians in total turmoil. Though I was very little informed of his law I exemplified to him the temerity and the wickedness of the Intruder and with this, I demonstrated that he had erred much more according to our religion, than would a *mukuva* (fisherman) or others of inferior caste, if he had ventured without permission or any privilege to make himself a Brahmin and to wear the uniform. This was to his taste and he promised to do whatever was possible to induce the Archdeacon to abandon the usurped status and that otherwise if he would counter him, he would infuriate him against

the king, his brother-in-law. I presented him with a piece of sandalwood (something which they esteem very much) and he left very much satisfied. Among gentiles I have seen only a very few with his qualities, behaving with much prudence and decorum.

The Kaimal conducted to me Ittiachen of Alangad, a native of Vaipicotta, where his brothers lived, who because of him were travailed at this time by the Intruder, who accused them before the King of Cochin for many riches, saying that they had robbed a great sum of money from Archdeacon. I made the governor of Cochin recommend them to the King, but this did not happen in time because after a few days of imprisonment they were liberated with some payment. Their father, called Ittimathen, fell ill at the same time, as I reached Malabar. He, knowing this, called his children to his room, where he was lying, and having sent away all others, told them: I know that divine providence has posed the eyes of his mercy over this Christianity, causing to come from Rome the remedy, of which we have had much need. Hence, know that the religious, who came here, are true Discalced Carmelites, sent by Rome for our good; you obey them very promptly; and if you do not do it, I give you now my malediction. His children promised to do it and to ensure him fully, they confirmed it under oath and he remained very consoled by this. Unexpectedly a false priest came to give the Extreme Unction, but saying that it was not yet the time, he sent him away. Suddenly he had a true priest come and he confessed to him and received the said Sacrament and after a few hours he died. The children held the funeral with much solemnity and remained faithful to what they had promised to him. This was really very useful to me, since they were the most important persons in the whole of Malabar.

In chapters XIV to XVII Sebastiani describes some of the Hindu customs, traditions, worship, rites and other items which have nothing to do with history and Christianity. Moreover they are better described in other works of many foreign and native authors.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DECISION TO GO TO ROME, MY SUBSTITUTE, EMBARKATION

The time of my departure approached, when a fleet of galliots (vessels) came from Goa. Having news about it, immediately I sent to the port one of my companions with a boat to fetch Fr Hyacinth, thinking that he had indubitably come on such a good occasion. But the said priest-companion returned and informed me that he did not avail himself of that passage, on the presumption that he should have arrived at Kannur and not elsewhere. I cannot explain how much it afflicted me, because then he could come only after three or four months and in the meantime the movement (of the tides) for navigation to Persia would have finished and would have run the risk of losing a year of time. I decided, however, to substitute Fr Mathew of St Joseph in my place, with the necessary instructions concerning this, until the arrival of the said Fr Hyacinth. I was offered embarkation for Mecca at the mouth of the Red Sea in Arabia, in order to go through that sea to Suez, and from there by land to the great Cairo, and then through the Nile to Alexandria, where unfailingly I would have found a passage for Europe. But, since the Red Sea is not frequented by Europeans, it is most difficult to navigate through it for Suez as the winds are always contrary and I had need to speak with Fr Hyacinth. Hence I wanted to try for a passage for Cape Comorin, through the Fishery Coast or Tuticorin (where Pearls are caught) and for Mannar, Nagapattinam, Mylapore, and from there through Golconda and Visapur I could go to Goa. But the long duration of the journey and the big expenses, made me change my mind and I decided to journey once again through the Coast of Malabar and Canara, partly by land and partly by sea, although I was dissuaded by all, because of the many corsairs sailing there and because the port of Goa was besieged by Dutch ships, which had reached there on 7 September (1657), two days after the arrival of the ships from Portugal in the same port. The Dutch had thought of preventing the arrival of the Portuguese ships and capturing them. This would have been very easy, the Dutch being greater in number, and the

Portuguese fleet being in disorder because of the long voyage. But since only five months voyage made them secure, the enemy could not foresee the time and could only come from Jakarta in the winter season, to besiege that port. I had information that in Calicut there was an English ship, this was confirmed by a young man of 16 years old, who fled from the ship and went to the captain of Cochin, who sent him to me. I catechised him, made him abjure his errors and profess the Catholic faith. Then I absolved him from censures; I also gave him some objects of devotion, admiring the efficacy of divine grace, which so sweetly induced an English youth to embrace the truth, among unknown people, in countries so far away, prompting him to abandon the motherland, his parents and everything. But the great generosity of Simon Gomez de Silva, governor of Cochin, courteously supplied for everything, taking him as his page boy. I wrote to the clerk of Calicut, so that he might immediately send me two big boats with every security possible, as he did, sending me also the Interpreter, who had served me before.

I took leave from the governor of Cochin, the president of the chapter, the vicar general, many religious and chevaliers. From many persons I received letters for Our Lord the Pope, for the governors of the Indies and others. I also had a letter for His Holiness from the Archbishop of Angamaly, from whom I took leave through others, not being able to do it in person, because of the most hurried preparations for the departure, almost unexpected. Very many persons came to visit me, who, with most tender affection wished me a happy journey (although my departure was partly secret) and among them the captain of the castle, who could hardly speak because of many hiccups. There was a youth of 20 years old in Cochin, named John Barretto, the only son of Emmanuel Barretto, a very important person in that city, and owner of the Island of "Bendurte", bought from the King of Cochin. He had a blood relative in my religious congregation, who was a person of great virtue, and his celebration aroused in him thoughts to follow his example. I had dealt with this more than once since I arrived in Malabar, where he often accompanied me. Having decided to come with me to Rome to receive the habit he spoke about it to his father, who in the end was pleased and for the

viaticum of the son gave me 200 *sultanini*. He bade farewell to relatives and his father, who remained the most afflicted. He came with a servant to our house, where he burst into bitterest crying, and overwhelmed by excessive pain, he became unconscious and was laid on a bed. We helped him and animated him, as much as possible, but he could not speak, always shedding copious tears. The following morning, after celebrating Mass, the said youth receiving communion and with my servant Dominic (leaving Nicolò with Fr Mathew) we walked towards the port, accompanied by the vicar general, and by very many friends, who came to wish us a happy journey. We stopped at the port in a small house belonging to Fr Andrea de Pinho, my dearest friend and vicar of Our Lady of the Graces, where there were also Antonio Miranda Saldanha, former owner of many Aldines in Ceylon, Salvator Noronha, a priest of very great virtues, Emmanuel Vas, vicar of the Salvation, Christopher de Miranda, vicar of "Bendurte", Domenic Mendez, chaplain of the cathedral, all persons of my most special confidence, who helped me much and accompanied me in the affairs of that Christianity. *Cassanars* and Christians turned up from various places of Malabar, but in great numbers from Muttom, led by the vicar in two galleys. We put our luggage and belongings on a galliot of Silva Panaike, King of Canara, through a Portuguese named Guerra, very familiar to him, so that he would take them to Kannur, where he would wait for us. Then we would go with the same to Basrur, ensured by the Malabarians, with a passport, which in Thermapattanam I should have procured from a very prominent leader. Afterwards we were to embark again a big boat of the vicar of the church of Graces, to go to the Island of Vaipin and from there to the port, where our big boats were waiting for us. As I began to embrace these friends, there stirred up among the people present so great a cry that it would have tenderised the stones. I tried to hurry up soon, but there came to kiss my hands some who had served me as interpreters, among whom a certain Uduppu, Geo Fernandes and Ventura Rebeiro, raised very much their voice with shouts and poured so many tears, that really moved me. In such a big multitude there was not even a single dry eye. There came unexpectedly the foster-mother of John Barretto, with other women, who renewed that cry and grief of the

departure in such a way that it was necessary to forcefully push the boat from the shore and depart from the land. But the grief of that separation drove many to the water, who seized the boat and others followed us covered almost fully by the waves, among whom was an old gentile Brahmin, who had served me in many occasions. He followed much further, crying, which caused wonder and great tenderness in all. I gave him something and made him return to land, with the others, where all were standing wishing us a happy journey raising their hands to heaven, and pouring tears most copiously, until we were lost completely from sight.

Some of the dearer persons passed to the Island of Vaipin with us and afterwards many others turned up and the vicar of Muttom came in three boats, with the clerics and Christians of his parish. One messenger came also from Muttuchira and Kuravilangad with an *ola* of eight principal Christians of Malabar, which was an inexpressible consolation for me, because in this they wrote that having toiled for them until that time, for the conversion of their churches already reduced, they wanted in the future to travail for the rest of the churches, with the sure hope that in the end all would be convinced. Hence they asked me to go most joyfully, sure of being assisted by the prayers of the whole of that Christianity; they requested me to celebrate some Masses in Rome (for which they sent alms) and to obtain from His holiness pardon for their excesses.

With the delight that the letter produced, we all took a little lunch and at noon we returned to embark on our boats, amidst the most tender cries of Fr Matthew and of ours, and of all the friends, who remained there to return to Cochin in their boats.

The third book (chapters 1 to 22) describes the journey of Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani from Cochin on 1 January 1658. Travelling through Kannur, Goa, Surat, Muskat, Combrù in Persia, Bassora, Babylon, Aleppo, Scanderona and Venice, he reached Rome on 22 February 1659.

PART TWO

THE SECOND EXPEDITION OF JOSEPH OF ST MARY SEBASTIANI OCD TO THE EAST INDIES

**SECONDA SPEDITIONE
ALL'INDIE ORIENTALI
DI MONSIGNOR SEBASTIANI
FR GIUSEPPE DI SANTA MARIA,
DELL'ORDINE DE'CARMELITANI SCALZI,
Prima Vescovo di Hierapoli,
Hoggi di Bisignano, e Barone di Santa Sofia,**

**Ordinata da
ALESSANDRO VII
Di Gloriosa Memoria.**

In Roma, nella Stamperia di Filippo Mancini, 1672
Con licenza de' Superiori

**SECOND EXPEDITION
TO THE EAST INDIES
OF MONSIGNOR, SEBASTIANI
FRIAR JOSEPH OF ST MARY
OF THE ORDER OF DISCALCED CARMELITES
First, Bishop of Hierapolis,
Today Bishop of Bisignano, and Baron of Santa Sofia**

**Ordered by
ALEXANDER VII
Of Glorious Memory**

Rome, in the Press of Philip Mary Mancini, 1672
With the permission of the Superiors

SECOND EXPEDITION, BOOK ONE

CHAPTER I

INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHRISTIANITY OF MALABAR AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SECOND EXPEDITION

Since all have not read the narration of my first expedition to the East Indies, I will briefly indicate its content, as it would be necessary to understand better what I am going to describe in this second book.

The Christianity of Malabar (today comprising the archdiocese of Angamaly or Cranganore), had from the very beginning the light of the true Faith from the Apostle St Thomas, but subsequently for a long period of time remained in the obscurity of the heresy of Nestorius, until it returned again to enjoy the bright light of the Catholic Religion due to the work of Dom F. Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, of the Order of St Augustine. From that time on it began to be governed by prelates and religious of the Company of Jesus (Jesuits), who in 1653, towards the end of the pontificate of Innocent X (1644-1655) of glorious memory, were excluded from governance by the impostures of malign persons, who induced the people to invalidly and sacrilegiously consecrate Archdeacon Thomas Parambil (de Campo) as bishop, a perverse man, as he promptly demonstrated, with the ordination of false priests and the assignment of those churches (parishes) to many of them. As news about this reached in Rome, though it was very much confused, it was enough for the supreme zeal and piety of Alexander VII (1655-1667) of glorious memory, to send there immediately through Portugal Fr Hyacinth of St Vincent, a Discalced Carmelite, a very famous preacher, with the faculty of Apostolic Commissary. At the same time he induced me also with the same title towards the Near East, at that time together with Fr Vincent Mary of St Catherine of Siena, today the most worthy procurator general of my religious Order, to ensure

better the settlement of the issue. On the journey I was fortunate and hence I reached there one year earlier (February 1567), at the end of which, after infinite risks and travails, 32 parishes were converted, which obliged me to return to Rome, with more certain and distinct information of what was going on (Fr Hyacinth remaining there) so that with more opportune remedies the ruin of so many souls could be averted, who because of the deceit of the false bishop, priests, sacraments and doctrines remained in the evident danger of eternal damnation.

I reached Rome through a long route of risks and travails, I gave the most complete information on the whole issue, which could not be an object of suspicion on account of grave contradictions, because many completely concordant reports defended it and attested to its veracity. After mature counsel it was determined that a titular bishop should be sent to Malabar as apostolic administrator, with sufficient authority for managing that arduous and grave enterprise. It appeared that I would be made a bishop for this purpose, as I was acquainted with the matter and experienced in making the journey. But these two reasons were for me the most pungent stimulus to exceed in repugnance, opposing difficulties and proposing many other conspicuous persons, because I knew the infinite risks, sufferings and travails, to which I would be exposed by accepting the mission. Without some very sublime reasons I would have never surrendered, even if I had been promised the treasures and the empires of the entire world because where life was considered almost evidently at risk, those premiums could not flatten me, since they must necessarily presuppose life. Finally having bowed my head, and sacrificing me again to God, I was privately consecrated Bishop of Hierapolis on 15 December 1659, which was not known to any one until my arrival at Cochin after 16 months (14 May 1661), because I remained until then in the habit of a simple religious.

The importance of the affair and the uncertainty of life obliged me to choose companions of great virtue and fitted for whatsoever need. They were Fathers Angel of St Mary, a religious of the best quality, who had many times occupied the office of the provincial of Rome, John Thaddeus of St Brigit, very experienced in matters of divine worship and Godfrey of St Andrew, expert in

many languages. With these companions I went to kiss the feet of his Holiness, who in an ordinary habit benignly received us in his private room and sent us with full of blessings and several documents, since, before entering, the Fathers had already pondered over the importance of such an affair and over the amplitude of the faculties, which he (Pope) granted me in his briefs, so that I could avail myself of them with maximum caution and prudence. Msgr. Mario Alberici, at that time the most worthy secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, today the most eminent Nuncio to the Emperor, also armed me for the venture with mature counsels and the best instructions, the result of his own clearest and most versatile intelligence.

CHAPTER II DEPARTURE FROM ROME

I could not put everything in order for such a long journey, before the elapse of almost two months after my consecration; this period was necessary for the preparation and dispatch of many necessary items. On 7 February 1660 I started the journey, walking with the said fathers my companions towards Naples, all parting with great emotion, which so great a separation could ever provoke. Also a cleric was taken, called D. Valentino Chiossi, since we were badly in need of persons who could help us in travails and fatigues of such a long travel. The journey began with much rejoicing and in the evening of the sixth day we reached Naples, where the adverse time and some goods (luggage), which I was waiting for from Rome, retained us for about one month. But favoured by V. Re Conte di Piñarada and the Nuncio Apostolic Giulio Spinola, Archbishop of Laodicea and today the most eminent cardinal of the Church, whose greatest benignity and courtesy already burdened me with a thousand bonds from the time of my first journey, he also being very great in genius: both of them granted me most favourable passports for the whole of that kingdom. On 14 March (1660) I sent my father companions to Vietri in a felucca and I went to the said place by land with another

French father, who was going to Malta. From there we set sail and on the following day we passed the gulf of "Policastro", with grave fear, even of the mariners, because of a very strong wind. The feast of St Joseph was at "Diamante"; I celebrated and Fr Angel extemporally made a very good homily in praise of the saint at the instance of the parish priest. Afterwards I spoke with all my father companions, and on returning to set sail we were then forced to remain three days on the shore of "Paola". Hence we entered in the Church of St Francis, and venerated his holy relics with the same devotion which they themselves demonstrate - the place itself excites this devotion-, though rough and noisy. As the time ameliorated, we happily proceeded with our journey until Messina, after seeing many ruins of the last appalling earthquakes throughout those coasts of Calabria.

* * *

Book one, chapters 2 to 14, describes the journey of Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani through Malta, Aleppo, Mardin, Nineveh, Bassora, Congo and Combrù, until his arrival at Surat in India on 21 January 1661. Now we continue with the story after his arrival at Surat from chapter XV.

* * *

CHAPTER XV PASSAGE TO GOA

After two days of rest at the residence of that most courteous captain, we sent our boat with D. Valentino to Chaul, where he arrived, despite the extreme danger of being caught by Malavaries. We reached there by land in two *pallacks*, with the escort of a few soldiers under the command of Andori. From there we set sail through the sea with so great a wind that (to pass to the plane "Danda", where resided "Sidi", at that time an enemy of the Portuguese) we were in great risk. Our journey proceeded, by land at day and by sea at night, for fear of the Malavaries. Since we found a Dutch ship at Vingorla we had to adjust a little and on 24 February (1661) we reached "Aguada", the principal fortress of

Goa, which was surrounded by a few enemy ships, but since it was very big they did not block it. I was informed that on the previous evening two of our fathers departed from that port in a boat with the intention of going to Rome and that on that day they should be in "Ciapora", a river twelve miles away (from Goa). I immediately sent a messenger there, with a letter asking those fathers to wait and informing them that I would be going there to visit them, in order to give them some letters for Rome and to communicate some matters personally. In the meantime Bartholomew de Vasconcello, captain of "Acquada", invited me to the fortress, where Fr Mathew celebrated Holy Mass. D. Antonio Lobo de Silveira de'Baroni d'Aluito, in whose villa in Nellur the said fathers, who would depart from that port, were previously accommodated, arrived there unexpectedly. Since he invited me to the same house with much affection and courtesy I judged it well to accept it, in order to penetrate from there the motions of Goa concerning my arrival and if necessary to depart for Calicut with the English ship, which was (anchored) there and which was about to set sail within a few days to the above place. Bartholomew de Vasconcello, a person of great talent, who had been a soldier in Italy, Flanders and in other parts of Europe remained with us for a few hours and we had a good conversation, at the end of which he also offered us some refreshments. Afterwards I went with Fr John Thaddeus to the house of D. Antonio Lobo (the same house, where many years ago I was accommodated by Giuseppe de Chaves, the Secretary of State, my intimate friend). Then I sent to our convent in Goa Frs Mathew and Godfrey with D. Valentino, ordering the said fathers to inform the Apostolic Inquisitors of my arrival in that port and after honouring them in my name, to find out if it would be better to enter the city or to go to Malabar through Calicut in the English ship, which remained at that port.

D. Antonio Lobo prepared the *pallack* and immediately I went to Ciapora, and afterwards Fr John Thaddeus also came. I found the boat there, but not the fathers, who went to a rectory of the fathers of St Francis, two or three miles away. I reached there at night and afterwards the aforementioned fathers came also. I met there Fr Francis of the Passion, from my own province (formerly the companion of one of our visitors general, who died a

few months ago in Combrù) who was going from Goa to Rome, as procurator of our missions in Asia, and with him Fr Angel of Our Lady, a Portuguese, responsible for the Indies. It was a great joy for us to meet each other in so far distant countries. Since Fr Angel of Holy Mary was not there, I wanted him to accompany me to his place. In order to deliberate better, all of us returned to Nellur. Since it seemed to the Father very necessary to go to Rome for the benefit of the missions, after receiving some letters and messages from me, he again returned on his journey together with the same Portuguese Father Angel.

I stayed three or four days in that house, well cared for by D. Antonio and by his wife Lady Agnese Roccia, and the stay could not but be of advantage. Afterwards there arrived the first Inquisitor, Paolo Castellino de Freitas, who came to know about my arrival, being at that time in a villa for a pastime. It is impossible to describe with how much joy he embraced me, due to the friendship that had arisen between us, when for the first time I passed through that city. Since he was a man of great secrecy and counsel, with the due caution, I spoke openly with him and made him understand in what capacity I was again sent to Malabar. I presented him, also for the other apostolic Inquisitor, Luca della Croce, vicar general of Dominican fathers, a most beautiful brief of our lord the Pope, prescribing him not to deliver it to him, nor to reveal the secret, until my departure from there. The brief follows: (*For the sake of convenience we have placed the original Latin text of this letter together with the English translation in part 3 as no. 11.*)

CHAPTER XVI

WHAT HAPPENED IN GOA UNTIL MY DEPARTURE FOR COCHIN

The Inquisitor gave due respect to the apostolic brief and to some special devotional objects, which I gave him. Having pondered over how difficult and dangerous it would be to enter Malabar and to do there something good at the time of war, without the favour of the Portuguese general captain residing in Cochin, whom the people of Malabar feared much, the Inquisitor dissuaded me from passing through Calicut. He confided to me in secret that a fleet was being prepared for Cochin, in which I could go there surely, since he would recommend me to some captains of his obligation. The Inquisitor counselled and exhorted me to enter freely into Goa and that I would be assisted there by him and by the other Inquisitor his colleague, and by very many principal persons, those ministers and particularly the governors of the State: Francesco de Mello de Castro and Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, with whom I was acquainted during my last mission. I told him that I left everything to his prudence and that being supported by the most powerful Holy Inquisition, especially potent in the Indies, I did not fear any hindrance. Having heard this he collected me up and conducted me to the city in his boat.

I was received in our convent there with great affection and was visited by all my friends, the prelates of Religion, by Luigi di Mendoza Furtado, the general of the galleons, who favoured me much and by many other affectionate ones. But Giuseppe de Chiaves, secretary of state was dead, for whom I had brought some letters, in accordance with his earnest desire. I visited the governors, presenting them some beautiful objects of devotion and to Francesco de Mello de Castro an indulgence for the feast of a chapel in the cathedral dedicated to St Bernard. I explained to them, without declaring to be a bishop, the scope of my return to Malabar, where my colleague Fr Hyacinth of St Vincent was also to be found. They courteously manifested their disposition to favour me in everything necessary, to recommend me to the

captain of Cochin and to give me passage to the said city on the fleet, which was about to depart.

The wars in Cochin worried me, because if the city would be lost before my entrance in Malabar, I thought it impossible to penetrate there any more, foreseeing what the Dutch would do, they being the lords of the city, upon which depended all the kingdoms in Malabar. I knew very well that their friendship with the religious was very extrinsic, especially in foreign countries and they did not want to admit religious in their territories in India and in other neighbouring countries. During my first mission I penetrated there without a Portuguese passport; so also this time because I confided very much in the piety of the Portuguese and knew to attract them with good words or at least to induce them to sanction my entrance with some conditions to their taste. But the Dutch were inflexible in their determinations and totally dependent upon the order of the "United States", least favourable to the affairs of Catholicism, for which I was sent. While I remained very much agitated because of similar fears, there arrived a courier from Cochin with the news that the Dutch were repelled in Pallipuram, where they thought of setting up their military base, to render easier the conquest of Cranganore and Cochin; that they embarked and set sail, leaving only a few ships in front of that city, in order to impede contact, but these too very soon would depart, the winter being very near.

This news would have created great joy in me, except that it had been saddened by the information that my colleague Hyacinth of St Vincent had died on 10 February (1661), after substituting in his place his companion Fr Marcel. Those who had been acquainted with this good father, must have necessarily felt his loss, because in addition to the bounty of his moral conduct, the principal cause of esteem, he had such a rare talent for preaching that he was the ornament of pulpits, appreciated, admired and demanded in competition by the main cities in Italy, from where he gained very many souls for God, great applause for himself, as well as glorious fame for himself and for his and my religious Congregation. It was a heroic act to go to India in his old age, abandoning the glory of his name, which he left behind, though there he acquired the same. It was not a minor glory to suffer for

such a long period the barbarities of those peoples, for whose benefit he was fatigued with extraordinary travail. Consequently first he lost bodily health and then life itself. In Rome his great merit was duly esteemed, as witnesses the following letter, which I brought to him, to be used for his return to Europe, after had been to Asia.

Beloved son, health and apostolic blessing. Being confident very much in the Lord of your proved faith even in very grave circumstances, integrity, prudence, dexterity, industry and zeal for the Catholic religion, we, by the present letter, absolving you and deciding that you will be absolved - if you are implicated - from any kind of excommunication, suspension and interdict, and from other ecclesiastical sentences, censures and penalties, inflicted by law itself or by man at any occasion and on whatever ground, by the tenor of the present letter, we declare and constitute you Apostolic Visitor in all the missions existing in Asia, with the faculty of visiting all and any of the said missions, wether of secular or of religious priests, as well as their residences, houses, hospices, churches and chapels, as well as persons, things, movable and immovable goods; the faculty of doing all and everything pertaining to the execution of this visitation, and with other necessary and opportune faculties which the Congregation of our venerable brothers, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church appointed for the affair of Propaganda Fide is wont to grant for properly and rightly performing such office. We seriously enjoin you to enquire diligently - you yourself or through other credible witnesses - of the state and progress of those missions, of the practices, labours and customs of the missionaries, and of all other matters which seem to pertain to complete and perfect information of those affairs, in so far as you consider them to contribute to the greater glory of God, the propagation of the Catholic faith and the spiritual benefit of those provinces, according as more amply contained in the instruction, which has to be given to you by our beloved son the secretary of the aforementioned Congregation of cardinals; and not to omit to inform the same Congregation of cardinals about the matter. Moreover we order all and any ecclesiastics and secular persons in whatsoever dignity to receive and recognize you as apostolic

visitor constituted by us, to revere you and fully obey you in everything pertaining to the aforementioned visitation. Indeed we impart to you the faculty to constrain and repress with apostolic authority any contraditors and those who refuse to yield to you and obey you, through ecclesiastical censures and other opportune remedies of law and fact, regardless of any appeal. We wish that when you have fulfilled the task entrusted to you, you shall send the acts of your visitation to the same Congregation of cardinals. Notwithstanding apostolic constitutions and ordinances, and as far as be necessary, those of the residences, places, hospices and any others, even oaths, apostolic confirmations or statutes and customs confirmed by any other writ, and indults and apostolic letters, granted confirmed and renewed in any manner with regard to the aforementioned matters. From each and every one of these we specifically and expressly derogate, for this occasion only, for the effecting of the aforesaid, while they otherwise maintain their force for the future, holding the content of the same aforesaid to be fully and sufficiently expressed and inserted, word for word, by this present letter. Notwithstanding, moreover, whatsoever to the contrary.

Given in Rome, at St Mary Major, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 26 January 1660.

Fr Marcel, the companion of Fr Hyacinth, notified the death of the said father through a letter, in which he described: assaulted by catarrh (phlegm) in Malabar, because of grave inconveniences and sufferings he went to Cochin, where having been cared for many times, without any improvement, he disposed himself for death, after a general confession, by the substitution of another Apostolic Commissary and other necessary arrangements. He rendered to all those who took care of him and visited him many acts of virtue with the greatest edification. Finally overcame by catarrh, failing little by little, after receiving the most holy sacraments, he flew from this world to enjoy the premium of his travails and fatigues. He reported in the same letter that at the news of his death people rang all the bells of the city, the clergy with the religious took his body in procession to the cathedral, accompanied by the confraternities, the general captain, the master of the camp and

other officials of war, as well as by the magistrate, many chevaliers and by all the notables. According to the said letter a most solemn funeral was conducted in the cathedral, with elevated catafalque covered in black and full of lights, singing with musical instruments the office with requiem Mass (as also did the Dominican Fathers in their Church). Then he was given the most honourable burial in the middle of the major chapel, where rested the body of the last Bishop of that city, D. F. Michel Rangel, who was deposited in the other side of the same chapel.

I will indicate in another place what the said Fr Apostolic Commissary did in Malabar and how much he travailed. Now I relate only how the news about his death reached Goa, because it gave reason and space for some politicians - little friendly with (non-Portuguese) foreigners, without any consideration for fact that *Dominus custodit Advenos* - to machinate a project to impede and encumber me from settling the affair of Malabar. The See of Goa was vacant and the cathedral canons of that Metropolis were divided into two hostile factions, each of them governed in the manner of a chapter, the one group undoing what the other did. Hence there was confusion and quandary. Each group endeavoured to drag me to its side and tempted me with thousands of writings and protestations. For not prejudicing the interests of my affair, having seen the government, the nobles and the Inquisitors themselves taken sides, I demonstrated myself neutral. I fled as far as possible from speaking about similar matter or remitted it to other responsible persons or treated it so cautiously that without prejudicing any of the parties, I promoted unity and concord as the most important thing, though it seemed impossible, because of the obstinate contrariety of the competitors.

The said Portuguese, too much jealous of their jurisdiction, suspecting that I was a bishop, and that this might gradually prejudice their interests and privileges, made most exquisite efforts to penetrate it. Although they did not succeed in tracing this, they did with this supposition, whatever was possible for them. I was informed of all these by friendly persons, who were so timid that they often advised me to flee to the kingdom of Idulcan and from there to enter Malabar, offering me their help. In their desire to render me too safe many times they placed me in a labyrinth of

intrigues and in danger of being lost. It was good that I did not let myself be influenced by their fears and did not give full credit to all their warnings. Since I received nothing more from others than what was probable I made a diligent investigation. I came to know that those politicians had lured and persuaded the governors of the State to impede my passage to Malabar, but they did not obtain it. Then they tried to do it with Luigi di Mendoza Furtado, the general captain, indicating that I was a Neapolitan, and therefore a suspicious person. They pointed out that permitting my passage would have very much prejudiced the peace of that State and that if the governors failed to do their duty, it was up to him to supply it, but he excused himself saying that the matter belonged precisely to those very same governors. Certainly, they did not make very diligent efforts to defend themselves from the Dutch, their true enemy at that time.

Finally, having seen their machinations battered, they applied their intelligence to a hidden mine, sufficient to throw up in the air the whole affair of Malabar. They made themselves supporters of one of the two factions of the cathedral chapter and influenced it with donations and promises. Then, very secretly they induced it to constitute a certain Emmanuel Serroni, a canon and major treasurer of the cathedral of Cochin as governor of Malabar, supposing that the Archdiocese of Angamaly was a suffragan of Goa and that during the vacancy of the See, as there was no cathedral chapter, it pertained to the chapter of Goa to govern it, and that in doing so it would be doing an exceptional favour to its king, maintaining his jurisdiction in that Church. They sent Serroni the patent for the office by express mail, promising him everything necessary for his sustenance at that place and ordering him immediately to take possession of the office. They recommended him also to Ignatius Sarmento de Carvalho, the general captain (in Cochin) so that he might defend and help him.

It was not possible to conceal this mine in such a way that there did not appear any smoke, which helped me to have full information with the confession of the very same canons, who took part in the operation. With the help of Francesco di Mello de Castro and the first Inquisitor Paolo Castellino, they were induced to give me a contrary order for the very same Serroni, with the

same secrecy, with which his patent had been sent. I even obtained another order from the canons of the opposed faction, who, under threat of censures, commanded the said Canon not to interfere in the affairs of Malabar. In order to better undo and totally the mine, I left a copy of a brief to the aforementioned Inquisitor, to present to the canons who elected Serroni, immediately after my departure for Cochin. With this I obliged him to desist them, if after my departure, they had changed their mind. It was an opportune measure, because they immediately sent another order, more efficacious than the former, to the same Serroni, as I suspected.

CHAPTER XVII

DEPARTURE FROM GOA TO COCHIN

The fleet, which should have departed for Cochin in the middle of March (1661), was not in order and one month later Luigi di Mendoza Furtado ordered the captain of one of the galliots, called Emmanuel Gonzales, to take me in his, without making it known to anyone, and to deal with me as if with his own person. I went earlier to Nellur, to the house of D. Antonio Lobo di Silveira, being sent by the governors, Inquisitors and all friends. Since the prelates of the religious Orders had many cantors to be ordained and though they were not certain that I was a bishop and despite suspicion, they made many of them embark in the same fleet, so that in Cochin, if I were to be disclosed a bishop, would be promoted by me to the sacred Orders, as there was no bishop in the whole of Indies at that time. I remained 6 days in Nellur, where I was treated very well. I celebrated there the feasts of Easter. On Holy Thursday, 21 April (1661) I went to the said ship, and we sailed well because there was sufficient wind, without any hindrance from the Dutch ships, which had departed a little before the siege of that port.

By a happy but slow voyage we reached Kannur, determined to go forward. But the captain of that fortress informed us that some enemy ships could be found at the coast of Cochin and an order came from the general captain of the place to retain any kind

of help coming from Goa, until otherwise ordered. Hence the ship was anchored in Kannur and I being disembarked, took residence with my people and with a cantor of the Order of St Augustine, brother-in-law of D. Antonio Lobo, who came with me indisposed.

There on the first days I received a letter from Fr Marcel, Commissary substitute, who had already been informed of my return from Rome. In the letter he indicated to me what Serroni did, in order to take possession of the governance of Malabar. He reported that Serroni was greatly supported by some princes of Cochin and by the general captain Ignatius Sarmento de Caravalho himself and that the latter demonstrated himself contrary to me and threatened to impede my entrance in Malabar, unless I had brought letters of his king or the governors of Goa. Such information persuaded me to pass to Cochin by land, despising the dangers of those suspected places, which I encountered at other times. But dissuaded and retained by my friends in Kannur, I sent Fr Godfrey of St Andrew there, to arrange with Fr Marcel whatever was necessary for my arrival, to penetrate the efforts to impede it and to win over the difficulties, that could render my entrance to Malabar less secure. I gave him some of the letters of recommendation, which I carried from Goa and others which I wrote to persons whom I knew and who would be helpful to me. I also gave the said Father some money, since I understood that Fr Marcel had scarcity. Fr Godfrey headed towards Cochin and happily entered there on 1 May (1661). He was received with tender affection by Fr Marcel, who had been alone after the death of Fr Hyacinth. Immediately Fr Marcel conducted him to visit the general captain and other lords, to all of whom he gave the letters, which had an opportune result. However Serroni persisted in his desire to govern Malabar and privately took possession of Cranganore, perturbing that Christianity very much, without paying any heed to the opposition and warnings of the substitute Apostolic Commissary.

The fleet remained in Kannur until 12 May (1661), on which day the voyage started under a threatening climate, its major captain having received new advice to reach Cochin as soon as possible, since no enemy ship was there. Since winter was about to begin in those countries, we had a happy voyage until Pallipuram

and from there after a little calm, with a prosperous wind we arrived in front of Cochin and amidst little rain we entered the port on 14 May (1661), 15 months and 7 days after my departure from Rome. On the very same night with much fury the winter began unexpectedly and the port was closed. If we had delayed a few more hours, we would have been infallibly lost or we could not have entered, until after the winter at the end of August.

CHAPTER XVIII

DISEMBARKATION IN COCHIN AND WHAT HAPPENED IN MALABAR

The fleet was awaited with great eagerness in Cochin, and having detected it from far away the whole city concurred to see its arrival. Fr Marcel had information about this and he immediately sent a good boat with Fr Godfrey, accompanied by six priests, my intimate friends, who had helped me very much during my first mission in Malabar. When I saw that they had already entered the port I declared myself a bishop, conforming to the orders which I had (from Rome). There was great delight in the galliot, and the news being spread in the fleet and in the city, acclamations and salutations multiplied. As the boat reached the land, I was received with indescribable satisfaction, and having been brought to the archbishop's house of Angamaly outside of the city, I met there Fr Marcel and we embraced each other with the same affection which we had from Germany (where our friendship began). Then he led me to the neighbouring church of Our Lady of Graces, with a great concourse of people. There we sang the *Te Deum* for the happy arrival; then with the same retinue I was conducted to the aforesaid house, which was always full of visits for several days. The general captain Ignatius Sarmento de Caravalho, the chapter (the see was vacant), the prelates of the religious Orders, chevaliers, nobles and others continuously visited me, without even giving me time to breath.

As soon as such a long journey ended, it was necessary for me to begin the most intricate enterprise of Malabar. Wishing to proceed with every possible verification, I managed to have

complete information about what had happened there, from the time of my departure for Rome until that time. I summarily narrate here what I came to know about it.

After the arrival of Fr Hyacinth on 10 March 1658 in Cochin and after his passage to the church of St Thomas and to the house there, where I left my substitute Fr Mathew - who in the meantime had laboured for the affair of Malabar - immediately began to negotiate for the total conversion of those peoples, and principally of the Intruder. It is impossible to relate how much he travailed for it, with letters, messengers and assemblies in different churches. Firstly he went to Kottayam, to convince or confound the Intruder in front of the King, who invited him with his letters to do this, but when he reached there he did not find anyone. He did the same at Alangad, Parur, Kaduthuruthy, Edappally and other places. But the Intruder either failed to arrive or when the deal was pressed against him, he used to flee secretly. Many times he convened several obedient parishes in the churches of the Holy Spirit, St Thomas and Muttom. He personally visited the majority of them; to other churches he sent Fr Marcel. He worked with the kings of Cochin, Kaduthuruthy, Purakkad, Alangad and Angamaly, so that they would favour the conversion of the Christians, their subjects. And many did so, issuing orders (*olas*) with regard to this to their ministers and governors and to the churches subjected to them, even by making them prisoners, (or to say better) by sequestering many bazaars for several months. With these and other actions, travails and fatigues he induced many souls and entire places to the right path.

The impious *Cassanar* Ittithomman dared to test his strength (to compete) with Fr Hyacinth and he went to Muttom for this purpose, after first obtaining safe conduct from him and from the general captain Ignatius Sarmento de Caravalho. But in the beginning itself he remained so defeated and confused that secretly he fled, and covering up his shame with lies, published that he had completely won. Nevertheless all these served to uncover further his malignity and perfidy to all, because the meeting and his confusion were public. Fr Hyacinth was also acquainted with the devotional places.

The Intruder travailed as much as possible to remain in his usurped position and not to lose his followers. He and his companions divulged several lies; he often cheated Hyacinth and fled as far away as possible from him.

Once it seemed that the intricate affair was at the point of a very happy conclusion and that the Intruder might subject himself, but in one moment he mutated everything, creating worse embarrassment than ever. Because, at this same time, the new Archdeacon (Kunjumathai Kunnel), appointed some years ago by the Archbishop, who until then stayed in Cochin and outside of Malabar, unexpectedly entered there, and went to his native place Kaduthuruthy, where he publicly took possession of his office, against the order of Fr Hyacinth and the Inquisitors of Goa. The Intruder knew it, as it was said, while he was negotiating in a public meeting to leave the usurped grade, and recuperate his previous status of Archdeacon, subjecting himself to the Apostolic Commissary. The said news was enough to make him more obstinate in the evil, having seen his previous office occupied by the new Archdeacon and that leaving the other, there he would remain without anything. Hence it was necessary for Fr Hyacinth to proceed with other travail against the second Intruder, as if the infinite molestation of the first one was not enough. But then a third impostor was added to afflict him and worry him further.

The Archdeacon, false bishop, when he knew that I departed from Cochin for Rome, went immediately to the Church of Edappally, where during the *Moonnunoyambu* or the fast of Jonas, he published a brief, which constituted him patriarch; he wore as pallium a kind of silk of Our Lady of Loreto (ridiculous invention, but enough to cheat a most ignorant people). But the title of patriarch, which the following fraud confirmed to him, lasted for only a little time and there remained for him only that of bishop.

In 1659 a Portuguese ship returning from Mecca, a port situated in Read Sea, reached Cochin and in it there was an Armenian, who pretended to merchandise pepper in Malabar. He also had a girlfriend with him; she remained in the city and he entered Malabar. *Cassanar Ittithomman* knew it and made him go immediately to the place where the Intruder stayed. With many promises they induced him to feign to be a deacon (but razing his

head like a religious) and to present himself as the nephew of the new Roman Pontiff, saying that Alexander VII died; that in his place his uncle of Syrian nationality was elected and that immediately he (the Pope) sent him with a brief to confirm the election of Thomas Parambil as the bishop of Malabar. In order that the imposture might seem more probable, *Cassanar* Ittithomman robbed from the church of Thodupuzha a brief of plenary indulgence, obtained a few years ago from Rome for the feast of St Martin and gave it to the Armenian, called Stephanus, so that he might present it publicly to the Intruder. Then an assembly was convoked by the Intruder, in which the Armenian consigned him the brief, saying whatever *Cassanar* Ittithomman taught him, utilising a Jew (bribed with money) as interpreter. The Intruder received it kneeling down, kissed it, placed it first on his eyes and head and then gave it to Ittithomman to read, who vested in surplice and stole, from the pulpit read the brief in Syriac, though it was written in Latin and explained it in his own manner and exhorted the people to be obedient to their pastor, without being cheated by the false Apostolic Commissary. Finally he gave the brief to the Intruder, who made the people kiss it, obliging each one of them to give one *fanam* as alm.

The Armenian was then induced to write a letter to the authorities of the city of Cochin, asking them to oblige the Apostolic Commissary to go for a meeting, which the false bishop pretended to convoke. He sent another letter to the same Commissary, citing him to appear. (That country is so much free for any kind of insolence and so impudent is the imposture for every temerity). No response was given, except by mouth and this was convenient, because to do it by letters would have been too much honour for a people so perverse and malign.

At the same time D. Francis Garcia, the Archbishop of Cranganore died, much advanced in age and full of merits. Without counting on the assistance of the Apostolic Commissary in that Church, he had appointed a governor, which also created some problems for Fr Hyacinth, but the governor, after evaluating well the circumstances, never took possession of the office.

A little later the mother of the Intruder also died at Kuravilangad, where he was bound to go for the funerals. He

availed himself of the occasion to cast out the vicar, his cousin Alexander Parambil from that church and to rob it, it being the richest church in the whole of Malabar. He accused him - I do not know of what offence - before the prince of that place, called Murecali, who placed the *parravu* of two *nayars* at the door of his house (the mode of imprisonment in Malabar). He immediately wrote about it to Fr Apostolic Commissary requesting help. That good father went to the neighbouring church of Muttuchira and did whatever was possible to liberate the said church and the vicar. Moreover he induced the King of Kaduthuruthy to place the *parravu* of six or seven *nayars* to guard the Intruder, holding him under custody for a long time. The Intruder was almost killed, because, the said Armenian, desiring to return to Mecca, asked him to return the money, which he had previously deposited in his hands and to fulfil the promises made to him for the impostures. Since the Intruder denied everything, the Armenian took a Turkish scimitar and launched so strong a strike that if it had reached him, his head would have been broken. He fled from there, but fell down on a chair at his residence, and it was broken into two pieces. *Cassanar* Ittithomman ran to the place and calmed him. After he was given a certain quantity of pepper and cinnamon, the dissatisfied Armenian embarked from Kayamkulam for Mecca, abandoning his girlfriend in Cochin.

Fr Hyacinth, together with Fr Marcel remained in Muttuchira for a long time for the benefit of the church of Kuravilangad and its vicar. On this occasion both of them worked hard to pacify the Portuguese and that king - because previously their relationship was broken, for interests (which I will indicate later) of the kingdom of Cochin - and did much in favour of Malabar, which could not but be of advantage, if the king had kept his word.

At that time there blew in some oriental winds, which prejudiced the health of people very much and these gave so much catarrh to Fr Hyacinth that he was bound to go to Cochin, where other diseases also afflicted him, which kept him in bed for 40 days. He passed to his eternal rest in heaven when he was 63 years and 2 months old.

The continuous travails and fatigues of that mission at times also placed Fr Marcel in a very bad condition. When Fr Hyacinth

died, he had an apophthegm on the chest, and after it had been operated, he had a fever for sometime, but he never abstained from toiling with new vigour for the conversion of those peoples. The whole burden rested on his shoulders, because the office of the Apostolic Commissary being sub-delegated to him, he was obliged to work more for the accomplishment of the task.

Fr Marcel so compelled the Intruder through the King of Kaduthuruthy, that he manifested his intention to subject himself and asked him to determine the place for the convocation of the assembly. He also wrote to the general captain that if he had been granted a safe conduct, he would have passed to Cochin with two thousand Christian soldiers to defend him from the Dutch. But it was evident that everything was a deceit and he did not have so much credit in Malabar as to be able to send the help promised.

The greater toil of Fr Marcel was with Serroni, after the arrival of the patent appointing him governor of Malabar, because against the inhibitions and warnings of the said Father, he went to Cranganore, took possession of the see and began to live in the archiepiscopal palace. The general captain favoured him with the pretext of maintaining the right of his king over that See. Since there emerged disarray, he ordered the convoking of a meeting to deal with the matter, with the intervention of the captain and the prelates of the religious Orders. In the meeting a decision was taken to suspend everything and not to make any innovation until my arrival in Cochin, which was expected very soon. In accordance with this resolution, Fr Marcel made Serroni return to Cochin, through the Fr Commissary of the Holy Office, to whom I had sent, through Fr Godfrey, an order of the Inquisitors to help as far as possible the affair of Malabar.

All these and other things which I described elaborately and distinctly, happened in that Christianity from the time I headed towards Rome until my new return. Also in this state I found it, when I reached Cochin for the second time.

End of the First Book

SECOND EXPEDITION, BOOK TWO

CHAPTER I

WHAT WAS DONE IN COCHIN ON MY ARRIVAL WITH REGARD TO MALABAR

The travails and dangers of the journey and of the first commission, though very grave, were much less than those, which I will describe in this book, because it seemed that the world and hell conjured something up against the undertaking, and that what had already been gained was also lost and consequently every fruit was dispersed. But where the Omnipotence intervenes, every obstacle is levelled and everything becomes easy.

As soon as I reached Cochin, very many *cassanars* and *mappilas* gathered there from many places of Malabar, who did not cease to embrace me; and the news spread to all the churches, with the great satisfaction of the good people. After visiting the Portuguese lords and the prelates of Religious, I immediately began to deal with the business, incredibly embarrassed by the new governor Serroni, who fomented by unquiet spirits, was pertinaciously defending his position. I availed myself first of pleasant means, but not producing any effect, I had recourse to other more efficacious ones and called Fr Michael of Annunciation, Guardian of St Francis, Commissary of the Holy Office, a great friend of the said Serroni. I made instance to him in the name of the Inquisition of Goa (which highly recommended me to him and ordered him to execute exactly what I would impose) to conduct Serroni to my house at any time on that day either by good will or with the responsibility of the Holy Office. Having seen me resolute and being a great friend, he pleasingly induced Serroni to come to me, whom I received very courteously. Since he was a little tenacious of his opinion, changing the style, I harshly brought for his temerity. With grave fear, he threw himself at my feet shivering and promised me to surrender, when I made instance of it in writing, threatening him of possible dismissal. And, since I caused him a scruple incurring censures for his contumacy, which

were intimated to him in the warning of Fr, Marcel, he asked me for absolution, which I gave him, in order not to put this matter into discussion and not to give time for contradictions. Hence he departed from me totally changed and having presented him with my instance, he signed what he had promised me. After a short time, being infirm, he wanted to confess to Fr Marcel. I visited him with the fathers, my companions and he died assisted by them.

At that same time the general captain of the Portuguese was waging war against the kings of Kottayam (Thekkenkur) and Kaduthuruthy (Vadakkenkur) for their rivers. This impeded my mission, because there are many churches in their kingdoms, the majority of which are already obedient. So I took care to calm the said general captain and made to cease the hostility, calling back his fighting vessels; and with that there started commerce with the Christians of the said kingdoms.

In addition to very many letters recommending me, which I sent to the principal ministers of that city and to the Magistrate, I presented a letter of Our Lord to the Rev. chapter, and had my commission read publicly in the cathedral with much solemnity and participation of the people. I published a monitory against whomsoever would impede the business of Malabar or would interfere there without my consent and knowledge, because there were many, who with their indiscreet zeal could embarrass him.

I wrote to 52 churches, the principal ones of Malabar; so did also the general captain, who was much esteemed and afraid of in those kingdoms. I sent his letters together with mine, all of them destined to induce that Christianity to the right way. In the same manner I sent letters even to the Intruder, alluring him with much charity and politeness, but the disgraced did not wish to receive them. Furthermore he threatened the envoy and spread rumours that I did not come from Rome but from Goa, where I stayed all the time and that although well dressed like a Carmelite and a bishop, I was only a simple religious of the Company (Jesuit).

Almost all the churches received the letters, responded politely and feasted my return. Since some churches in the kingdoms of Cochin and Purakkad rejected them, I took care that the general captain would work with those kings his friends, who would put a *parravu* of four *nayars* for each church or village (with

a bazaar), with that the rebel Christians would remain like prisoners, without the possibility of trading, but with the obligation to pay and feed the *nayars*.

CHAPTER II

MY WORK IN COCHIN FOR THE COMMON GOOD

As soon as I arrived, I was invited to say Mass on a feast day in the Church of St Thomas - my former residence and afterwards that of Frs Hyacinth and Marcel - and it was with solemnity and a very great participation of people. I published an aggregation of that Company to an arch-confraternity in Rome and gave some briefs of indulgences, which I had obtained in their favour. So also I did with other confraternities of that city, and with some churches of Malabar. This caused so much devotion in those poor souls that they indescribably consoled by it, and rendered me affectionate thanks.

A little later I solemnly baptised the son of the councillor Simon Gomez de Silva, former captain and governor of Cochin, when I was previously there, and he was my great friend. At the instance of the chapter - the see was vacant - and of the prelates of all those religious Orders, and of the general captain, I conferred the holy oil outside of Maundy Thursday "in Coena Domini", applying the privilege for the grave necessity, existing in all that Christianity. On the feasts and the Octave of Pentecost, at the instance of the same persons I ordained very many religious and secular clerics of various places and some deacons and *cassanars* of Malabar, promoting to orders some of those who were invalidly initiated by the Intruder, and who at that time came to give me their obedience.

For the feast of the holy apostles Peter and Paul I celebrated the pontifical in the cathedral of that city with the participation not only of its people, but also of Malabar and of other neighbouring places. Upon the order of the Inquisitors of Goa, the Father Commissary of the Holy Office who prudently judged this could help very much against the calumny of the Intruder, arranged it.

There were different choirs of music and the Father Commissary preached with much spirit. On the following Sunday in the same Church I began to administer the sacrament of Confirmation and for three continuous days, morning and afternoon there was much concourse of the Portuguese, Malabarians, Sinhalese, Bengalis, Malaysians, Chinese, Japanese and people of other nationalities, and almost all of them of adult age, who almost suffocated me. Guards, protection, gates or other inventions were useless, because they crushed any obstacle. It was necessary to transfer the Chrism for the other four days to the church of Our Lady of Grace, there also followed the same inconveniences, but it was for me a motive of joy, seeing so much fervour in receiving that Sacrament.

In the same Church I also baptised a good gentile boy of 25 years old, to whom I gave the name Joseph Sebastiani; chevalier Simon Gomes was the godfather, who afterwards favoured him very much. This boy was from Muttom, and his conversion was due to the zealous vicar of that place, who a little later assisted at his marriage with a girl from Cochin and I went there with some gifts.

When theses functions ended, I sent Fathers Marcel and John Thaddeus to Cranganore, to read the brief of my commission there, and to take possession of that cathedral in my name, abstaining to go there in person for due respect. On this occasion, the general captain who was present at that time in that fortress became reconciled to me; so too a certain malicious man, who irritated the captain against me with false reports, which I undid with one of mine, convincing him fully.

He possessed a particular pontifical vestment of the dead Archbishop Francis Garcia, but did not want to give it to the general captain on the latter's death, but which I procured sustaining that it belonged to the future prelate of that diocese. I must have used it during the visit of Malabar, and having made to him instance of this, he did not wish to give it to me, but offered it to the same general captain, saying that it belonged to the King of Portugal and protesting against him, if he would give it to me. All this caused much disgust and discouragement, but then I won with patience. Finally the General, being scandalised by the duplicity of the one who possessed it, sent it to me at my house and gave me

what I wanted from the sacristy of Cranganore in order to officiate in the churches of Malabar.

CHAPTER III

OBEDIENCE OF GNARECA, CARINGACHIRA, CHOWARA, KANJOOR, KALLOORKAD, KODAMALLUR AND VAIPICOTTA

In the meantime not only very many priests and Christians of St Thomas used to visit me day and night (because I received them at any time) but also the people of some rebel and schismatic Churches sent their parish priests and major-domos to offer me their obedience in the name of all, for which the *parravu* imposed on them at the instance of the general captain was very helpful. Gnareca was the first to do it through their pastor and eight *mappilas*; afterwards Caringachira through two heads of the community (bazaar). Then Chowara gave obedience through the vicar and nine principal Christians. Vaipicotta also did it immediately through its vicar and nine prominent Christians. Still more persons came from Kanjoor to offer their obedience. Finally Kodamallur and Kalloorkad did the same through four priests, seven clerics and 70 *mappilas*. After I had diffusely explained to each one of those churches the deceptions of the Intruder, the errors into which they had fallen and the obedience due to the Supreme Pontiff, I obliged them to make a solemn oath to fully observe the profession of Faith - I made them pronounce it at my hands - and never to follow the Intruder. They made this oath at their knees touching the Crucifix and the Missal. I stood up, vested in surplice and stole, in order that they might comprehend better the obligation of the oath. It cost me much time and travail in responding to the questions of each one, because I granted them freedom to propose the necessary doubts. I spent much more time and effort to induce them to make the said oath, since they considered it superfluous in matters of faith, an embarrassment to conscience, and a novelty for those countries, where such an oath had never been made. But

with calm and with the example of the fathers, my companions, and the whole of my family, who each time used to make the same oath in their sight, they also finally made it. Immediately after the oath, those who came from Kanjoor, again having fell on the knees humbly asked pardon of Fr Marcel for the affronts made to him, when he went to their Church at the time of Fr Hyacinth and they embraced him kindly, requesting him to go there another time in order to do him the same honours. A more solemn oath I administered to those who were ordained, even if minor orders, with the promise to work as much as possible to induce their relatives, friends and schismatic churches to take the right way. I also obliged them to write their names under the oath, and from this I obtained much beneficial result.

The fury of the winter, which in those countries consisted in continuous rainfall, but without any cold, held me in Cochin for three months. But during this period I continued to work for the benefit of Malabar, coping with the uninterrupted flux of Malabarians, who came even from the remotest areas to offer obedience, for affairs or for simple visits. I also multiplied the messengers, whom I sent to various churches with my letters. In the beginning of August (1661) I began to go personally to the principal churches, to deal with the matter and to pass on to different places to harass the Intruder and to constrain him to obedience. The general captain did not want me to move on, since he thought that gradually all the churches would come there to subject themselves like the aforementioned churches, without incurring expenses, travails and dangers on my part. But this was very uncertain, required much time and was very risky for the affair, since I suspected that the Dutch might have come again to that place. The General also told me that his suggestion was very convenient, but it was not pleasing in any manner to the Catholics. Anyhow I resolved to enter Malabar soon after the celebration of the Assumption of Our Lady (15 August 1661).

I would have liked to begin my mission in the kingdom of Kaduthuruthy, in which were situated almost all the obedient churches and where the more important *cassanars* and *mappilas* lived, but it was impossible since concord and peace with the Portuguese did not exist there, but only the armistice or cessation

of hostility, which I procured. This ceasefire was really very useful to the Christians of the same kingdom and very pleasing to that king, who confessed to be very much obliged to me.

CHAPTER IV

FIRST ENTRANCE INTO MALABAR AND THE VISIT OF MUTTOM

The news about my departure from Cochin to go to Malabar moved the whole of Cochin and Chevaliers and prelates of all the religious Orders offered to accompany me. All manifested great affection and courtesy. I accepted only the offer of the Fr Commissary of the Holy Office, the Prior of St Dominic, Diego Rocca of the Order of St Augustine and the Chevaliers Simon Gomez de Silva, Antonio Cortese, Marco de Pigno and Giovanni Fusero and of some very virtuous secular priests, who normally used to help me, as they had done the other time (during my previous mission).

I decided to begin the visit from Muttom, since this was the first church that subjected itself to me. Since everything was in order I began the journey on 22 August (1661), accompanied by more than 20 well-armed vessels (boats), with trumpets, bands, musical instruments and good musicians to celebrate solemnly whenever it was necessary and with this entice those Christians to follow the right way.

To persons who have no experience of these countries and are prone to rash judgements will seem it a great vanity that I went to visit those churches with so much pomp. But they are deceived very much, because the great Menezes, Archbishop of Goa went there without any show, when he reduced that Christianity to Catholicism. But immediately afterwards they followed their Archbishop who had formerly governed that Christianity. Moreover, all the diocesans (bishops) have maintained such a show, because it is necessary among barbarous people, who are not capable of forming any idea about God, unless they see such grandeur. Those who have read the life of Francis Xavier know

what he did when he entered Japan for the first time and when he went to one of those rulers (kings). D. F. Michele Rangel, Bishop of Cochin, of the Order of St Dominic, a man of great humility and exemplary life, wanted to begin the visit of his churches in a most humble manner, but was derided, and was forced to do like the others. The Christians of Malabar, though dispersed in different kingdoms and subjected to gentile princes, constitute themselves as a republic, whose head is the prelate, who administers justice to them, not only in spiritual matters, but also in almost all civil cases. When any one of them suffers any wrong from those idolatrous kings, he makes recourse to the Bishop in order to obtain full satisfaction (reparation). If any church, priest or cleric is offended, these Christians oblige him (the prelate) to call up 10 to 15 thousand of their soldiers to take exemplary revenge or to constrain the offender to compensate for the wrong done, if he did not do it. However, they want their Bishop to manifest pomp, to give good presents to the kings, because this redounds to glory and it is useful for them. It would have been a curse to me if I had done what they pretended in this regard. Anyhow on the occasion of the first entry I gratified only very little of their taste. And for this reason that the Portuguese considered it necessary to accompany me, but I was contented with the aforementioned persons.

In a few hours I reached the "Castle of the Kings", the captain of which died a few days ago. He was most consoled to have seen me again in those places. Since I was very much obliged to him, I procured and obtained for the widow, his former wife, Donna Giovanna de Sousa, the very same office, to be exercised by one of her relatives, who on that occasion rendered me great honour, firing artillery, and with other manifestations.

I was very much pleased to see those places again, where I had stayed for many months with much satisfaction the time before. I wanted to visit the hut or small house where I slept at that time and the chapel of the "Miraculous Lady of Help", where I used to celebrate Holy Mass.

After being refreshed, we continued our journey towards Muttom, and we had the news of our arrival disseminated there. At night I took rest in a nearby palmetto. We reached Muttom in the morning and we were received with maximum exultation. The

vicar came in sacred habit, accompanied by many priests and clerics (*samas*) in procession, waiting for me on the riverside (port), where I had to disembark. There were numerous people, lustrosly armed and with some very great parasols (decorative umbrellas) of Damascus. The procession moved towards the church with the hymns of the priests, the acclamations of the people, the clinging of bells, the choir of various instruments and the continuous firing of musketry and firecrackers. From the river-shore to the church was not a short distance. The floor of the street, where I was walking, was covered with mats, over which there were white carpets, and upon these they made me walk, the same carpets remaining victims of my servers; at the entrance of all the houses they held lighted lamps. Every now and then they stopped in very big circles, near to me and my group so that I could see the joust or duel, of two or four persons with swords and rollers or lances, the most courageous and valiant in fencing (the chief exercise of that people) and they stroked with fury, so great an art, that there was wonderment as to how they were not hurt, nor could they do more in a true and proper combat. I often commanded them to stop it, so that there might not happen any disgrace during rest of the (long) journey. Sometimes it was necessary for serious persons to stand between them in order to quieten them. They were so much infuriated that in stopping them there followed shouts and acclamations, as well as the applause of all the people. Also the gentiles who came for that festivity stood in large numbers at the bazaar, together with Moors and Jews.

In the church, after conducting the ceremonies according to the Roman Pontifical and an exhortation to the people, I made to read a letter of His Holiness and a letter of the Sacred Congregation, which were translated into their language. (*Sebastiani included both of these letters here, but for the sake of convenience we have placed them - Latin original and English translation - in part 3 as no. 12 and no. 13. It would be better to read them now*).

At that time the church was in construction; it was so big that it contained in the middle the old church completely and since the principal chapel was already finished, the wall of that part was stricken down and was united with the old church. I blessed the

church with great solemnity and to extraordinary satisfaction of the people. I did all the ceremonies of the visit and administered the sacrament of Confirmation to almost all, even to decrepit persons. Since many came from neighbouring places and from the forests, the participation was very great. There did not remain anything more to be done, nor anything more to be desired from a people so much obedient, affectionate and devoted.

CHAPTER V

PASSAGE TO KALLOORKAD, VISIT OF THE CHURCHES AND THE KING

On 25 August (1661) we left for Kalloorkad in the kingdom of Purakkad, and I remained at night in a forest. We reached our destination the following morning, navigating through a most delicious river, but infested with very many crocodiles. We were received with respect, but not with the affection of the people of Muttom, because there were three or four leaders adhering to the Intruder, who much complicated the business. But I sent Fr Marcel to the king with a letter of the general captain, his great friend. The king immediately called the priests and commanded them to obey me at once and all come to the church; and lest there might be any difficulty the king ordered his viceroy to assist me, which he did, standing always in the choir, until everything was adjusted.

After visiting the Church I appointed there a vicar, because previously all the three priests of the place were exercising that office. After finishing all other functions, I wished to administer the sacrament of Confirmation. I found very much repugnance; first because they were already confirmed, though invalidly by the Intruder, then because the said leaders used to disseminate that this sacrament and the Extreme Unction were one and hence the recipients were in danger of death; and that with the sign, which was made on the front and with the blow which was given, they remained slaves of the Portuguese. Besides this, one of the same heads, more arrogant than the others, said in a high voice that only

those who were less than 18 years could be confirmed and others no. These and similar errors were heard in more places, causing very grave travail and provoking the worst effect among a people so barbarous and idiotic, though always they were won over with calm and patience. At the end there also almost all were confirmed, since only a very few had previously received this sacrament. We stayed there for three days, because in addition to the visit of the church, it was necessary to weary oneself much to make friends with the major-domos (stewards) divided among themselves and to adjust their most impertinent differences, based on the least interest.

At my departure, since I was informed that the king very much desired to see me, so while passing in front of his palace situated near the river, I disembarked to visit him. He honoured me firing artillery and musketry, which he holds more than any other prince in Malabar; and he did the same when I re-embarked. He received me in the square of his palace with a luxurious court. He sat on a fairly rough chair, which was, however, covered with a rose cloth. My chair was placed on a rich carpet. I thanked him for the assistance given to me for the adjustment of that church and requested him to do the same for the other church of Kodamallur, where I thought of going. He offered his assistance most readily and with the greatest manifestations of courtesy, which I could have ever desired. He treated me with so much respect that in seeing me he stood up and so he did at my departure. A big fan was always held decently in front of the mouth, a sign of much reverence. He was vested only in *mund* (a cloth with which covered the body from umbilicus to the knees) and the rest of the body was completely naked. However he radiated greatness and majesty in features (behaviour), appearance and in the posture of the body. He was of the first nobility of those princes and of Brahmin blood. I appreciated very much the elegance, and the eloquence of my Interpreter, who was Fr Alexander Kadavil, the most erudite and accredited priest in the whole Malabar - whom I used to take with me for the visit of those churches, so that he might preach against the heretical schism, in which those people had fallen - for the consent he had given, despite the last one, to the consecration of the Intruder as the pseudo-bishop of Angamaly.

He did it in many places with much freedom and spirit. This caused him great mortification and shame among the more obstinate schismatics, nonetheless it had the greatest effect among others and he came to be much more esteemed and loved by the good people.

Immediately after embarkation I sent the king a present of six vases of odorous water (perfumes) and six very big pieces of white sandalwood and a beautiful cloth of Bengal silk, called *mund*. The present pleased him very much and he corresponded to it with the gift of one pork and some chicken with Indian figs and nuts. He knew that chevalier Simon Gomez de Silva was with me (who did not accompany me for the visit, because of the past dislike and very grave differences that occurred between them, when he was governor of Cochin) and made him understand that he desired very much to see him. The chevalier went there bravely and behaved so lively that the king admired him and paid him many courtesies.

We wanted to go to Kodamallur, a place governed by the same King of Purakkad, but since we had to pass through some narrow rivers, the one side of which belonged to the King of Kottayam, enemy of the Portuguese, we doubted some affronts and harassment; hence we decided to go to Pallipuram. Heading towards that region, we met many priests and Christians from different regions, and as we landed to take some refreshments, there came the vicar and many *mappilas* from Diamper with very important information.

CHAPTER VI

AGREEMENT OF KANDANAD AND DIAMPER, MY PASSAGE TO THIS PLACE AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE INTRUDER TO MULANTHURUTHY

The schismatics of Kandanad and other neighbouring churches, harassed by the *parravu* of the *nayars* of the King of Cochin, resolved to come to some adjustment, and it was their stratagem to liberate themselves from it and to destroy me. They gathered in Diamper and proposed to those good Catholics that it would be better to end at one stroke the business of that Christianity, than to postpone it, adhering pertinaciously to two heads. They promised to bring Thomas Parambil to Kandanad, if they would bind themselves to make me pass to Diamper, because both coming so near we could easily resolve our differences, demonstrating the briefs, and afterwards all would follow as the true prelate, who in virtue of the said briefs resulted. The proposal pleased them and hence they accepted it. Then both groups departed to execute the accord made. Subsequently the Christians of Diamper requested me to go with them as soon as possible to their church. After many consultations I resolved to do it (although it seemed impossible that the Intruder would enter the kingdom of Cochin) and we navigated towards Pallippuram, where we arrived in the morning. After the visit of the church and the homage of the vicar and the Christians of the place, we immediately departed, without dealing with the affair, because we thought that with the reduction of the Intruder or with his confusion (defeat) in that assembly, we could win over everything at one stroke and afterwards I could conveniently visit those neighbouring churches, without encountering difficulties. We stayed the following night in St John of Parur, and the vicar and others visited and paid us homage. At dawn of the day we started for Diamper, which we reached very late and we were received with pomp, festivities and delight not less than that of Muttom. After making the canonical visit, the sacrament of Confirmation and every other thing in the same conformity, I wrote to the principal priests and *mappilas* of

my group, in order that they might assist me and aid me on an occasion of such importance.

The Intruder did not wish to consent to the resolution made, nor to pass to Kandanad, for fear of the King of Cochin, although the said place was the most important stronghold of his adherents. However, at the end he was left to be persuaded, when he understood that many of the court of the Queen and some very prominent princes would have helped him and defended him. Yet he did not want to come to Candal, but to Mulanthuruthy, a little distance from Diamper and a convenient place to flee in every occurrence to the bordering kingdom of Kaduthuruthy. He was not received with any celebration, which disturbed him so much that he thought of departing immediately, but his partisans and some important gentiles, who favoured him, made him remain by force. He wrote to his people and as many as possible came to him, many concurring to help him and to encourage him in so grave necessity, and almost all were lay people, whereas mine, whom I called to Diamper, were *cassanars* and these too only a few, but the principal ones of the whole of Malabar.

The heads of both parties assembled to deal with the matter, but the schismatics wanted absolutely that our differences be proposed in the court of the Queen, which was in Thripunithura, five miles away. It seemed to me most inconvenient, that the things of our religion might be treated in the tribunal of the gentiles, by an old and decrepit person of little prudence, and by his idolatrous ministers. But it was impossible to convince the other party, and consequently it was necessary to condescend, so that the schismatics might not triumph imputing upon me the fear of being exposed to be false. Moreover I agreed to it because the Portuguese could do much in that court and through them I could have helped myself.

CHAPTER VII

TRAVAILS OF MY COMPANIONS AND FOLLOWERS, MALIGNANCY OF THE INTRUDER AND HIS MEN

It is impossible to refer distinctly as to how much I suffered for one continuous month, not from negotiations, but from deceptions, calumnies, stratagems, and the diabolical inventions of the schismatics, to gain victory, and to take for ever that poor Christianity. Who has read the ecclesiastical annals, will see synthesised in this miserable congress all the tricks, even the most arrogant and insolent ones, orchestrated by the ancient and modern heresiarchs such as Arius, Pelagius, Luther and Calvin, with the favour of idolatrous princes, who had been made judges of the cause of Christ. And that at the end it was necessary to resort to arms in defence of the oppressed truth, which afterwards was seen triumphant with the purple dyed in the blood of his devotees, and with the splendour of flames, which reduced to ashes some of their houses, whereas the schismatics found themselves lost and disappointed.

Much correspondence was taking place between me and the general captain Ignatius Sarmento; at every moment I used to send him messengers, with reports concerning what was going on in Malabar and on account of this I used to receive help, favours and counsels of maximum profit. Being informed of this congress, I wrote to the King of Cochin, who was in Trichur waging war against Samorin, so that he might recommend the affair to the Queen and to her ministers. I called Prince Codorm, brother of the same King, who was in Chalakkudy, being engaged in the same war, to come to Thripunithura in my favour. I sent there also Paliath, general captain of that kingdom for the same purpose. The Goripp, the principal minister of the King of Purakkad was also urged to keep the Nanboothiri and governors of the Queen at my side.

The Intruder was afraid of some ruin and hence it seemed, he attempted to flee, but they obtained both from the court of

Thripunithura and from Kandanad and Mulanthurutty the favour of ensuring his presence under pain of several thousands *fanams*. Hence he was impeded from any possibility of fleeing. They made recourse to the favour of another prince too, called Virola, who, though brother of the King, was obliged to it by money and promises, corrupting also other very prominent ministers. We got through to him, and we tried different means to oblige Virola and the others on the contrary, to proceed to Cochin, and we obtained it, though late.

For some days, my priest companions and others, who used to assist me, both lay people and priests, together with many important *cassanars*, went to Thripunithura to deal with the matter; the schismatics did the same. Since each party was commanded to present the apostolic briefs on 20 September (1661), our people went there carrying with them the briefs; but the other group did not appear. There arrived in the meantime the Prince Cadorm, well catechised by Sarmento, and after repeated audiences and negotiations he again obliged the parties to present the briefs, in order that he might give the sentence with the authority of the King, who sent him for that purpose. My people were there with the usual accompaniment, but Ittithomman, the coryphée of the schismatics, brought with him about 200 armed men, who thought of frightening our men with their arrogance and impudence, but soon they became disillusioned, because the fathers presented on a tray a brief or letter from our lord (the Pope) for the King of Cochin, which I myself had brought, then another one for the clergy and people of Malabar and finally my personal brief, first kissing them, and placing them on the head and kneeling down with the maximum reverence. The first two were read and interpreted into the Malabar language in a loud voice, in the presence of all: Codorm as president, and with him the Major Governor, Paliath, Pandile and the first Namboothiri, as well as all the principal ministers of that court. All these provoked so much consternation among the adversaries that, being asked for their briefs, responded not to have brought them. The Prince, being greatly outraged at this, ordered that they remain as captives. My people returned to Diamper.

Cassanar Ittithomman realised that it was very difficult to cheat Codorm with false briefs, and therefore excused themselves from presenting them, saying that it was not convenient to show their letters to a Prince, who impudently asserted that the patriarch, who brought the letters, was an imposture. They persisted in this contumacy for four days, without any possibility of departing, but finally Ittithomman became more arrogant than ever, and published that he wanted to justify the cause of the Intruder. Our men went there and found him with a big band of schismatics, in addition to the soldiers, and saw that before beginning his harangue, he wrote some words in a small piece of *ola*, which afterwards was covered in a finger. Many thought that he was a magician, since he was very notorious for similar arts. He presented a book, inside of which a copy of the letter of the presumed patriarch, ordering that the Archdeacon be consecrated a bishop. He said that he did not present the briefs, because those of Diamper had stolen them and that one of them was in the church of a certain Kaimal, who did not wish to permit it be taken from there. He spoke with much temerity and arrogance, dawdling at the responses of our people, because on that day, I do not know how, Virola was present and Codorm could not be there because he was engaged in other business. Our people behaved with great prudence, notwithstanding the impudence of the schismatics. On this and on every other occasion there were always some who used to defend the cause of Christ with much zeal. In this respect excelled a certain *Cassanar* Thomas Malana, who was very young and who spoke a few times with such a spirit that he made the schismatics speechless and ashamed, and I demonstrated to him great signs of affection and gratitude.

In an assembly at the end of September (1661); there came the most insolent of the schismatics, one of whom threatened Fr John Thaddeus with a weapon in his hand, who without fear offered himself to receive the blow, but he was not very eager. Some Catholics saw this and notified Codorm, who ordered that he be immediately beheaded. He was about to execute this punishment, when the said Father threw himself at the feet of the Prince, entreating him to pardon him and he obtained that favour. Although this act of benevolence was of much edification for

gentiles and schismatics, nevertheless it displeased the Catholics, who wanted that relief for terrifying others and they lamented very much about it to me and to Sarmento.

These assemblies in Thripunithura lasted for one month without any result or conclusion and every day it was necessary that I made new consultations, so that some good end might emerge. My companions and others who were wont to always go to Thripunithura on foot, through very bad streets, used to return home very tired, and completely wet, because at that time it was always raining after vespers, sharing that little of the winter of the other coast of India, which they call "varà".

Simon Gomez, since I did not execute one of his recommendations - I could not do it in conscience - went away disgusted, without saying a single word to me, and taking with him the other chevaliers. Notwithstanding this I could make him return very soon, and render him capable of further collaboration, even though he went to Cochin, as did the other religious and secular priests, not being able to stay so much time outside the house. Only the *samas* and *cassanars* remained with me to see the end of that assembly.

In the beginning of October (1661), the Intruder, who was afraid before, took courage, and convoked as many schismatics as possible, procuring to turn even many Catholics, and made to read a brief of indulgence granted by the Supreme Pontiff Alexander VII to the Church of Thodupuzha, stolen by Ittithomman, who created the impression that the letter was authentic and read it in Syriac. Then he explained it in Malayalam, as it pleased him, pretending that it was about the election and consecration of the Intruder. Since in the whole of Malabar, there is not even one, who understands Latin, many were cheated by it. Afterwards the Intruder took it in his hands and gave it to be kissed, ordering every one to give one *fanam* as offering. All this was done with great festivity and fire-cracking, which was heard in Diamper, provoking great wonderment. Our astonishment increased, when we understood that the Intruder declared excommunicated all the *cassanars*, who used to assist me. Furthermore he sent one of his servants to Diamper with an *ola* (letter) containing an excommunication, to be communicated to my *cassanars*. Some of

my servers knew it and put him in prison. He confessed everything, and after scolding him acutely (the *cassanars* and I poked fun at the censures) and I made him return free to Mulanthuruthy, whence a most expert young man, who used to serve the Intruder, came and threw himself at my feet.

This one of vivacious intelligence, though of very young age, revealed to us many secrets of the Intruder and Ittithomman, who were engaged in negotiations only to avoid suspicion. He also warned us of the traps they had orchestrated and other matters of importance. Through him and others we discovered that the Intruder distributed among the Queen, Virola and the chief governor, the Pandil, Namboothiri and others, 18 thousand *fanams* (a very great sum among the Malabarians) so that they might continue to handle and prolong the affair until when, I, already exhausted and enfeebled with the expenses, would give it up or the Dutch might come to Cochin, which they eagerly awaited. With the arrival of the Dutch I might be deprived of the help of the Portuguese and Codorm, who in that event should go to defend that city, so that I would be completely lost. Thus he, lacking any ground on his side, made recourse to frauds, and this still more constrained me to resort to force in defence of reason.

CHAPTER VIII

ATTEMPTS TO CAPTURE THE INTRUDER

Being equipped with the briefs and instructions which I held, I sent Fr Marcel to Cochin, with a letter of mine for Ignatius Sarmento, in which I implored the help of the secular arm, demonstrating the stratagems of the Intruder, and requesting him to come in person with good soldiers, but unexpectedly, in order to capture him. He was completely disposed, and to better ensure the affair, he wrote with some indications to Codorm, since until then he demonstrated himself cold. He asked Codorm to ensure the presence of the Intruder, in such a way that he could not flee, threatening him with consequences, if that might happen. Codorm had, through his *nayars*, almost given the capture of the Intruder at Kandanad and Mulanthuruthy, when we made known to him that he had falsely read the brief of indulgence and excommunicated my *cassanars*. On reception of the General's letter, he immediately surrounded the Church, where the Intruder was staying, with a hundred *nayars*, so that he could not flee. The general wanted to depart from Cochin to Diamper at eight o'clock, but Goripp of Purakkad, seeing the resolute mind, doubting some kind of rupture with Codorm, asked him to restrain himself until the following night, in order to be able to avoid it, and jointly with the Prince to better secure the Intruder.

The General, therefore, started on 9 October (1661) evening with two armed ships, and fourteen big boats of the army, leading with him many nobles, the chapter and some prelates of the Religions. They reached the "Castle of the Magi" at night; after a little rest, they headed towards Diamper. On those days I was only occupied with sending messengers to Codorm and Sarmento, to notify them minutely of everything which was reported to me by many spies, whom at that occasion I held. One of them came at midnight and told me there were some indications that the Intruder might have fled. How I felt about it, God knows. I notified it immediately to the General, Goripp and Codorm, and this latter sent forty *nayars* at the very same hour, to ascertain the truth, to follow the Intruder and to take him prisoner, if he had really fled

and if they could reach him. The General was infuriated; Goripp doubted the rupture more than ever. In the morning Sarmento reached Diamper, with good military ordinance and with two canons of the campaign, he came with the whole of his company (party) and army to the church, where I received him with all due honour. There came unexpectedly Codorm and Goripp, who said that the Intruder really fled together with Ittithomman; but without any fault of theirs or of the *nayars*, because, being informed secretly by his men, on the same night they left the church naked, with *munds*, swords, rollers in hands and special hats on their heads, just like gentile soldiers so that they could not be recognised by the *nayars* (but I believe that they bribed them with money) and being informed of this a little later, they made forty soldiers pursue them; that when the soldiers were near, they were already outside of that kingdom; and during his flight the Intruder was wounded on the front because of disgrace. We were disturbed very much from the beginning, because two preys of so much importance, whom we had already destined for the Inquisition of Goa, had slipped from our hands. God, however, did not wish this, for his mysterious judgements, it being unfortunately true that in *rebus Divinis multum est caliginis*. Nevertheless, it was not a small victory that he was forced to flee shamefully, when he was already triumphant, because from it there followed the greatest shock among his followers and maximum infamy among all those princes, who from that time on, like the other gentiles, Moors and Jews of Malabar always derided and ridiculed him.

CHAPTER IX

OBEDIENCE OF THREE CHURCHES BEFORE CODORM, MY PERILS, AND THE REMAINS OF THE INTRUDER, PART OF WHICH WAS BURNED PUBLICLY

As we understood the mode of the flight of the Intruder, it seemed to us that he would have left the whole of his belongings in Mulanthuruthy. Hence that church was immediately closed and good guards were placed there, because Codorm was determined to go there in person to take the possessions. But before this, he made the churches of Kandanad, Mulanthuruthy and St John of Parur come to give me obedience, which they did at the main altar of this Church (in which I sat in pontifical habit). They abjured the schism and vowed fidelity in my hands. Sarmento and Codorm were present for the function; the latter often reminded me and cautioned me through his secretary to make those Christians pronounce well the words of the oath, so that they might not cheat me. Afterwards the three leaders of those churches, who had always tenaciously defended the Intruder, came to my room, and after making many embraces and courtesies I sent them back as very good friends, giving them also some devout gifts.

I very earnestly desired to have the pontifical vestments of the Intruder and the Syriac book, which he was wont to use for ordination, because he could not have found another one. Since Codorm was departing for Mulanthuruthy, I sent with him my secretary and the general captain sent one of his tenants for the same purpose. A few schismatics, in order to prevent them, won over three or four *panikkars* with a good sum of money and employed them for the defence of that church. When Codorm reached there, he found them at the door of the church, determined not to permit him to enter the church, proclaiming themselves defenders of ecclesiastical immunity and the privileges granted by their king to the Christians. And the matters reached such bad levels that they protested to Codorm, that he would never enter the church, without first taking their life, and this would be followed

by great turbulences, because several thousands *nayars* their disciples would remain obliged to take revenge for them with the death of the same Prince (Codorm). Since they were already bound to it, it was absolutely inconvenient to proceed and because of this the embarrassment was the greatest. And the nobility of Codorm, incapable of calm and resenting the affront, put himself and the whole affair, as well as Sarmento and myself at jeopardy. The Malabarians wanted me to defend the remains of the Intruder, but it was not the service of God, and hence I had to publish that I could not and should not defend the things of a heretic, as well as the permission granted to Codorm to take possession of them, wherever they were found, did not offend ecclesiastical immunity. With this I deprived the *panikkars* and the schismatics of the pretext of their arrogance. The Prince, finally determined to win, went again to the church and threatened to kill by his own hands the said *panikkars*, but they being completely transformed, threw themselves at his feet, asked his pardon, and requested conserving their life to engage it with more wise counsel in defence of his highness. He being pacified, did not want to enter any more in the church, but he had it closed, placed good guard and without touching anything, withdrew to one of his own neighbouring places, upon the request of those Christians, to be satisfied that I myself would personally take out the said things from the church.

This resolution of those Christians seemed good to Sarmento and to me, hence I immediately headed towards that place, together with my companions, assisted by three companies of Portuguese soldiers, by Antonio de Sà, Chevalier of St Jacob and Tenant General, by many other cavaliers and officials of war. I had with me also six principal ministers of Codorm. On reaching the church, I made them all remain outside; I entered alone with the said ministers, cavaliers and officials, besides my companions, and with three or four *cassanars* and the major-domos of that church. We closed the church and went to the major altar, where the said remains were found. As I was about to open some cases, baskets and trunks, it was announced that I should delay the operation, because inside the same church there appeared, it is not known from where, three armed schismatics, made *chavers*. I saw them and they appeared to me not as three humans, but as three demons.

I requested both those cavaliers and ministers of Codorm to cast them out from the Church, but it was not possible, because staying in the midst of it, they were obstinate at that place and every time I touched something of the Intruder, they approached with fury to the place where I stood and one of them many times took a musket to kill me, aided by the two others with arms in their hand. We remained there without doing anything, and since it was late, finally I stood up and went to encounter them. I roared at them and obliged them to get out of the church. Those who did this, a few days later came to Diamper to offer me obedience.

Then everything was opened, and many vestments of the Intruder and Ittithomman were found: cloths, gold spinning, silk clothing, a mozzeta, something related to the pontifical (but not yet the mitre, pastoral, cross and the ring), some ornaments of the church, three or four books, one brief, many writings, a seal, vases of the sacrilegious oils of the Intruder, his *pallack* as well as various instruments such as pitar, cornets, thamburus and suchlike. Many of these things were concealed, but that son, who fled to me from the Intruder in Diamper found out everything. Afterwards the caissons of the church were opened and since the major-domos affirmed that everything that they contained were of the same, I did not want that even a single thread of them be touched. I diligently searched for the book, which was used for ordinations, as well as the mitre and the pastoral, but it was not possible, because either these things remained well hidden or they were not preserved in the church. At the end some persons were charged with the whole remains and I sent them with my secretary and with others to Codorm, who sent to Sarmento the *pallack*, seal and rose overcoat (mozzetta) and to me the books, the writings, oils and a few ornaments of the church, retaining for himself the rest.

I returned very late to Diamper; it seemed that the whole of Malabar was celebrating a day of glorious triumph over the schismatics, very many were the acclamations and very great was the applause of the entire population. Also many other faithful came from the neighbouring places, because in truth it was the vigil of the feast of our St Mother Theresa and with such demonstrations they made the solemnity much more joyful and complete. The following morning, after the pontifical Mass with

music, various instruments and a procession - during which I carried the Most Holy, something never seen inside Malabar- a great fire was lighted near the church, into which the *pallack*, the oils and other items of the Intruder were thrown, with repeated firing of firecracker and pieces of the Company. After vespers, Sarmento embarked very satisfied to go to Cochin, after giving a golden necklace to Codorm.

CHAPTER X

OBEDIENCE OF “NADAME” AND CARINGACHIRA, CRUELTY OF THE SCHISMATICS AND VISIT OF KANDANAD

That fire lighted by Sarmento to burn the remains, since it could not be for burning the body of the Intruder himself, did not cause so great joy in good persons as the anger, fear and confusion produced in the more obstinate schismatics. However, those who sinned rather for connivance than for wickedness, came every day to offer me obedience in Diamper, in so great numbers that I was obliged to receive them even at night.

Among the books, taken from the Intruder, there was the decree of the Council of Constantinople, in which was written in the Syriac language that in order to consecrate a bishop, three bishops were needed. Among the writings there were the minutes of some letters, written by the Intruder himself to the Nestorian patriarchs of Jerusalem and Nineveh, which revealed that: he did not have any letter from the Supreme Pontiff; the Jacobite bishop, the presumed patriarch, was not sent there by Rome and was not subject to the holy Apostolic See; the Intruder asked from the said patriarchs books, masters and helps for escaping from the wickedness of the Portuguese and the Pope. Among the writings, was also found the brief of indulgence, stolen from the church of Thodupuzha, which was interpreted, as if it were his confirmation in the diocese. This brief was well known, because when he gave it for kissing in Mulanthuruthy, many noted its design and counted

its verses. When I showed it to those who came to give me obedience, they immediately recognised it. I had read often and in many places the aforementioned decree of the Council of Constantinople and the minutes, demonstrating also the brief of Thodupuzha. Thus the frauds of the Intruder and of his wicked companion (I had also found many of his magics in Mulanthuruthy) were uncovered. All this was of very great effect, especially to those of "Nadame", who then came to give me obedience and to those of Caringachira, who came to confirm it. Afterwards the Intruder was defended only by a few, the more ignorant, and of low standard, rather induced by the hope that by defending him, one day he would become a true and legitimate bishop and rewarded them for championing obstinately his errors. But some, more riotous, to vindicate what was done to the Intruder, killed a Christian of St John in Parur in the night, who before being a schismatic, offered me obedience on that day, and they wounded others. They came to Mulanthuruthy and set fire to three houses of Catholics, all of which were completely burned. They threatened to kill five or six *cassanars*, the most prominent ones, who assisted me, and because of this the latter were very much afraid. Those schismatics were induced and stimulated to all such acts by the Intruder and his colleague, who promised them much and used to go around from their huts - in which after the flight from Mulanthuruthy, they hid themselves for a few days - always distributing money.

It seemed that this anger of the schismatics threatened to me some ruin, more than any other. Since I did not realize this, I wanted to go to Kandanad, which I did, and certainly with the escort of those of my house. There I was received by the entire population, with the usual manifestation of joy and festivity. I visited the church and placed as vicar the priest of Mullanthuruthy, the neighbouring parish. I administered the sacrament of Confirmation to almost all. I conferred minor Orders on the son of an important person of the place. In the late evening I went to Diamper, where I stayed a few weeks to better ensure the obedience of those churches, writing also to all others, as to what happened first in the congresses of Thripunithara, and then between me and the Intruder and inviting them to an assembly to

be conducted at the beginning of December in that same place. Some days before Fr Marcel departed for Cochin, needing a cure for an apophthegm, which appeared on the chest.

Unexpectedly an express letter reached me, forwarded from Goa with a secret notice, that the government was changed and D. Emanuel Mascarenhas, who was in Mozambique in Africa, Luigi di Mendoza Furtado and D. Pedro d'Alencaastre had succeeded Francesco de Mello de Castro and Antonio de Sousa Coutinho. The letter further stated that an order had come to Goa from Portugal to arrest any bishop who might come to the Indies and that I should keep away from Cochin and from other suspected places. As soon as such a warning reached me, I received the letters of Sarmento with the most warm instance, asking me to go immediately to Cochin. If I did not go, it could be much noted and could provoke grave dislike with prejudice to that Christianity, always most dependent on who governs the said city. Hence trusting in divine providence and in the favour of many princes of that city, I resolved to go there dissimulating the warning.

CHAPTER XI

PASSAGE TO COCHIN, PROCESSION, OBEDIENCE OF PALIAKARA AND RETURN TO DIAMPER FOR A MEETING

I went to Cochin on 29 November (1661), where as I met with Sarmento, he did not give me the least sign of having had any order against me, on the contrary he manifested great affection. Since there was fear that shortly the Dutch would come to capture that city, as they had done in the three preceding years, it seemed good to us to organize a procession with the exposition of the Most Holy, and with a devout exhortation to penitence, in order to placate the anger of God. The procession was conducted (which visited all the important churches of the city) during which I carried a big crucifix with discalced feet. The General together with all others accompanied it equally barefooted. The procession was a great success, generating devotion and much compunction in all.

At the beginning of December (1661) some galliots came from Goa with some help and I received three letters, which signified to me, how Luigi di Mendoza Furtado favoured me much, and declared that the order that came from Portugal against the bishops, should have been intended for those three French bishops, who had to pass to China and not for me, notwithstanding that many wanted that I also would be included. To such persons he responded that my task in Malabar did not, in fact, offend the royal rights and privileges. It was not sufficient to stop my irritation against the words of a great politician, who in this manner was hurt (offended) and was prejudiced little by little. Yet one of his colleagues wrote to me a most courteous letter, offering me every help and favour.

Because of the diligence of Codorm, the *cassanars* and the Christians of Paliakara came there to offer me obedience, making the profession of the faith and taking the oath of fidelity like the others. And after a while I returned to Diamper, although the Portuguese did not want me to depart, in order that I be with them -

since I promised to return within a few days, they permitted it - when the Dutch might have come. Many religious and clerics, who came from Goa, accompanied me so as to be ordained in that month.

In the meeting I published some decrees for the *Ordinandi*, vicars or parish priests, and for the *cassanars*, almost all directed to divert every follower from the Intruder, who was utterly defeated, because besides the obedience offered to me in many places, almost all of his false *cassanars* were coming to me to be re-ordained and the obstinate could not say Mass any more and administer any sacrament and they began to be excluded from the Office of the dead and from the alms given for it, to their greatest prejudice and shame. The first ones to do this was the vicar and the Christians of Chowara, speaking about places, which I had not yet visited. During the assembly of Diamper, the Dutch reached Quilon, and with little effort they confiscated it in December (1661). Knowing this in Cochin, the whole population was afraid and I was obliged by the constant invitation of the General to return to Cochin.

CHAPTER XII

RETURN TO COCHIN, RELIEF GIVEN BY GENTILES TO A CHURCH, THE WICKEDNESS OF THE INTRUDER, AND THE LOSS OF CRANGANORE

Hastening immediately from the assembly, I headed towards Cochin, from where I sent Fr Godfrey to St John of Parur, because some *nayars* had shed blood in a quarrel under the loggia of that Church, and I procured with maximum travail, that the king might oblige the governor of that place to give due relief. The decision was to present to the same Church a hand of silver, which the said father, vested in cope, received at the door of the same from the governor himself, and it was hanged at the main altar. The Catholic Christians see here the respect of idolatrous persons reaching our churches. The true faithful are held in so much

respect. This was of great joy and consolation to that population, and of extraordinary benefit, known in the whole of Malabar, because the news being spread, those Christians said everywhere that only the one who defended the honour of their churches, demonstrated himself as the true prelate, but as a false (prelate), who subjected their churches to the gentiles, as the Intruder used to do.

The Intruder, together with his colleague, after being hidden for a short period of time, because of the shameful flight from Mulanthuruthy, finally began to appear in public. He went to the King of Kottayam and tried hard to get an audience, but the King did not permit it. He granted him nothing but an appearance at a balcony, the Intruder remaining on the street. The King mocked at him much and did not wish to grant him any of the two churches in that place. Hence he was constrained to retire to one of his palm groves in Changanacherry, where to his credit some false miracles were divulged. Among others it was circulated that an angel brought to him the mitre and the pastoral from Mulanthuruthy and that his blessed oils had saved him from the bite of a most poisonous serpent, which died soon. Afterwards the big church (*valiapalli*) of Kottayam was robbed, and it was generally believed that it was his act. At the same time with much money and big promises he bought again the favour of that King, the archenemy of the Portuguese and through him established some contact with the Dutch residing in Kayamkulam and confederated against the city of Cochin, but without any real effect on his part, since only a few followed him.

The Portuguese, and especially Sarmento made me troublesome instance, that I might call my subjects the Christians to the defence of that city, promising money and sustenance. I was perplexed because of the uncertain result of that war. However, since the favour of the Portuguese was necessary for me and in order that the circumstances might seem more disposed to them, I was persuaded to call two hundred men from Muttom and Diamper, with the intention of having a pretext to refrain from such commitment. I had them very soon, and since other five-hundred were about to come, there was the problem of payment, and it seemed that the city had sufficient presidium. Hence I sent them

back a little later - despite the displeasure of many, who went in silence - explaining to them diligently that they were the least warriors and more apt to marketing than to the arms.

The Queen of Cochin was decrepit, old and a widow for a long time. She had adopted some blood-relatives of her sister (as the custom among the Malabar people), to succeed her in the kingdom, the first among them (called Mutatauel) was of common satisfaction among those peoples and the neighbouring kings. But he was not pleasing to a certain Ramanacoli, principal minister of the Queen and brother of the King of Travancore, nor to some Portuguese, whom Ramanacoli utilised to caste out Mutatauel together with his brothers. Ramanacoli made the Queen adopt some princes, brothers of the King of Tanur, and then to enthrone the elder, giving him possession of the kingdom. The coronation was made by the Portuguese in the cathedral of Cochin, who made him a brother in arms of their king. He was not of so noble blood as Mutatauel, and therefore it did not seem that he could give nobility to the new brides of the neighbouring kings (making the strange and shameful custom of the Malabarians, that the King of Cochin ennobled the said brides with their defloration), nor did those kings collaborate for the adoption and coronation, as it would have been necessary and convenient at those so miserable times, when the Portuguese were so much crushed down in the Indies. Thus originated the travails of the unhappy Cochin, because Mutatauel, united with the Samorin of Calicut, and with other kings, called the Dutch for help, with the promise of giving them the city. Hence the Dutch had attempted several times (although in vain) to seize the city, on the pretext of vindicating Mutatauel and restoring to him the possession of adoption and the kingdom.

Having captured Quilon, after eight days they went to Cochin with eleven ships and at the end of the month six more ships joined them. But they did not try to disembark until 1 January 1662. On that day all of them passed to Aicota, five leagues more above, and to the port near Cranganore, where a little later they disembarked, aided by Samorin and the King of (Upper) Cranganore. Cranganore was very well fortified and equipped; Virbano Fialhò governed the fortress, a prudent cavalier, but over excitably animus. The prince Codorm with 400 *nayars* and Paliath, general

of the kingdom of Cochin, assisted in defending the weaker part. There they blocked the Dutch on land and began to strike them fiercely. Sarmento, confided in the valour of Fialhò, always gave him army and munitions, to win the war. I received at every moment information about what was going on there and I used to recommend to God the defence of that fortress. After they had stricken it for many days, the enemy raised the white flag and negotiated through a herald for some agreement, but Fialhò, without giving them audience, made to respond to the Dutch general, called Ryckloff Vvangoens, that the fortress was well guarded and if he wanted to assault it, he would be provided with ladders.

Paliath, a traitor at other times, did the same also at this occasion, because unexpectedly he fled from the fortress, joined the Dutch and told them the manner of entering in it. Then he went to Vaipicotta, his very neighbouring place, where he swore to be a vassal of Mutatauel. Knowing this, and hearing the fury of canons, which could be heard from my house, I began to be very much afraid. Early in the morning of 16 (January 1662), I heard very great cries from the neighbouring huts. A little later I was informed that the Fr Vicar of Cranganore had come and wanted to speak with me, I made him enter. I did not see a human, but a monster, very much transfigured by terror, and since he could not speak, it provoked more horror. All the “members of my family” (servants) came into my room, who at the first words, which the said vicar was able to utter, burst into the most copious cries. He affirmed that the previous day Cranganore was taken with the force of army, and there was the cruellest massacre of citizens and soldiers, by the work of Paliath, and through excessive ardour of Filahò, who was said to be dead with many wounds (this was not true, because he survived for a few days). I entered immediately in the city, which I found full of cry, terror and horror. I consoled Sarmento, for the loss of the fortress, and so much army, ammunition and the valorous Fialhò, his worthy companion. And I did other services, fitting to my charity and zeal. If the Dutch, after capturing Cranganore, had passed immediately to Cochin, certainly they would have taken it without much difficulty. Hence much was the consternation of the people.

CHAPTER XIII

MY RISKS, MASSACRE OF THE KING OF COCHIN, TWO PRINCES AND OTHER MINISTERS, MY RETURN TO MUTTOM

I used to stay in an ordinary house outside the city, in an open place, but the Portuguese wanted me to go to another one inside the walls, very big and very beautiful with gardens. But I always postponed it, for not remaining there closed by the siege, which was looming over, and in order not to abandon the Christianity of Malabar to the discretion of the Intruder, who feasted the fall of Cranganore much with his people, and from Cranganore the Dutch advanced to an Island called Vaipin, in front of the city and began to strike it violently, to my gravest risk, because many canon-shots fell on my house. In spite of this, I did not leave the place, lest the Portuguese might be offended, waiting to do it on the occasion of grave necessity.

Meanwhile an *ola* of Paliath reached me, in which I was exhorted to pass to Vaipicotta, because there I would be very safe; and I not being willing to do it, he requested me to wait in my house on 2 February (1662), where he would come in person to negotiate a most important matter with me. In order to be transparent I communicated the *ola* to Sarmento, who advised me to respond that because of some impediments I did not go to Vaipicotta, but on the fixed date I would punctually wait in my house. However, I asked Sarmento to assign me an important person, who would be present, in order to comprehend everything that would be dealt with. He nominated Antonio Galuano de Saa, Cavalier of St Jacob, *inter alia* great friend of Paliath who did not want to speak to me, but to ruin me as it was verified on the same day destined for the talk.

The poor Catholics of Malabar, who knew how important Cochin was for them, procured a league of other Malabar princes with the Portuguese, but with the obligation to admit Mutatauel to the kingdom of Cochin, after the death of the one of Tanur, who governed at that time, and things took a turn for the better. But

there was no more time, because the Dutch landed on 1 February (1662) evening, five miles away from Cochin at a place called new Wood (Garden); the Portuguese and *nayars* could not impede them. On that same night, in the Camp of Saint John, in front of the principal door of the city, the king of Cochin, Codorm, Sarmento and other leaders assembled to resolve whether they should go to encounter the enemies, or to wait for them at the walls of the city. The gentiles made recourse to their presages and magicians. A *nayar* of the same profession was called, who wounded himself with two swords in different parts of the head, sacrificing the pouring blood to the Demon, who responded that it was convenient to give battle in open camp in daylight. But Sarmento, as a good Christian, behaved only with prudence, and did not want to risk everything in one point, in regard for the few people, who remained with him, and they too were much disheartened and full of fear.

Some days before the Dutch General Ryckloff had sent two Commissioners with a white flag in order to negotiate with Sarmento, who led them to the house in two *pallacks*, blindfolding their eyes before entering the city, but he neglected this caution with a pageboy, who accompanied them. He diligently observed, and with much dissimulation (being very good expert) many things about the site, weaponry and garrison of the fortress. Sarmento received them in his house with all the nobility, and although they proposed most advantageous conditions for the religion and for other interests, he responded that it was his greatest shame to give ears to capitulation, before proving the valour of his men. He added that he would not surrender, even when he remained alone without weapons and soldiers and that he was first disposed to die than to surrender. He held in the same place of the meeting, among other pictures, a map of the outline, site and fortification of Cochin. Lucas Vuanuerden, one of the Commissioners, dexterously observed it. The Commissioners, after a lavish refreshment offered by Sarmento, went out blindfolded in a *pallack* as before, with the pageboy, well informed of everything. On account of his reports and the observations of Vuanuerden, after disembarkation and a little rest in the night, the Dutch wanted to pass through the place, where I was staying, since it was the weaker part of the square.

But as Upper Cochin was at their shoulders and nearest to them, they resolved to confiscate it first, and marching towards it, they killed with musket-shot on the front, a religious of St Francis, who from a bulwark was observing them, and was the first one to lose his life in that attack.

I was so simple to give credit to Paliath, the public traitor, who on that same day of appointment came punctually to my house, in company with the Dutch and Mutatauel. But during the time, when they went to Upper Cochin, being warned several times, I embarked with Fr John Thaddeus, and with the whole family in much hurry, letting Fathers Marcel and Godfrey enter the city and save all that they could, of what remained in the house and to enable Sarmento and other Portuguese to cope with my necessary re-entry in Malabar, to which I was obliged by the *cassanars* and Malabarians my subjects.

I was not yet embarked, when I began to hear the combat in Upper Cochin between the Dutch and the soldiers of the king, who being informed of their arrival, armed with sword and scud, and accompanied by two of his brothers, principal ministers and many *nayars* went audaciously to encounter them, saying: "now the Portuguese will know what kind of a king they had elected and how much he has been faithful to them". Thus because of excessive bravery he ran to encounter death, first making glorious revenge with the massacre of his enemies, but afterwards he was killed by the (multitude of) of enemies with their fire weapons, and so also all those who accompanied him, among whom died the princes Virola and Virara, and other very important ministers.

I had on one side the batteries of Vaipin, which did not permit the boat to pass and on the other side Upper Cochin, subjected to a fierce battle. It was necessary to risk and through many dangers to raze the said Cochin, where with my own eyes I saw the horrendous battle between the Dutch and the *nayars*, who having already lost their princes, remained victims of the fury of the enemy. In such grave danger I wanted to twist towards the other shore, doubting that the Dutch, having seen my big boat, thinking that there might be Codorm, would bombard me with the artillery of the royal palace. At that very same moment the arm of the rudder slashed near a beautiful painted image of my Saint Mother

Theresa, which remained in the stern (pop). It happened by chance, but most tender for the sons of the Saint, who seemed to take upon herself our danger. Finally we passed Upper Cochin and the island of "Bendurte" without any encounter or any harm. At the "Castle of the Kings" a boat of the *nayars* of Codorm (but in the beginning not recognized) came towards us, who wanted to know what happened in Upper Cochin, having heard noise even there. We excused ourselves saying we did not know anything, but we thought that it was battle between the Dutch and the *nayars*. Afterwards we saw Codorm, who at the beginning of the battle had fled from Palluruthy, a little away from Upper Cochin, to Aroor towards the "Castle of the Magi", because his men did not want to succour (defend) the palace, since they seemed to be only a few.

We continued the journey with much hurry, without any halt until Muttom, which we reached at midnight. Even if it was so late, at the first touch of the bell all ran to the church, terrified of the loss of Cranganore and fearing that the same might happen to Cochin, of which they repeatedly asked many particulars.

CHAPTER XIV

DANGERS OF MY COMPANIONS AND OF THE CITY OF COCHIN AND THE RESCUE OF A SUCCOUR

Before embarking for Muttom, realising that Cochin was very evidently at risk, since it seemed impossible to defend it for a long time without a miracle and in order to save my priest companions, who remained there and the affair of Malabar, I wrote to the Dutch General of the sea, Adriano Rothas, enclosing in this the letter which his brother-in-law in Surat had given me for my recommendation. I prepared another letter for Lucas Viianuerden, secretary and councillor of that expedition, my friend, requesting them for their favour and protection, in every case of necessity. I gave these letters to a good old man, so that, being disguised, before the blockage of the city, he might find a way to make them

reach their destination. He went to the enemy camp, and the guards took him and led him to the general of land, Ryckloff, who took the letters and then wrote with a pencil on a sheet of paper, that one of my fathers had to negotiate with him. The old man returned - the city was not yet completely blocked - and gave the card to my father companions, who considered the matter and their grave danger, when the square would be lost through the attacks, and mine too, because of the revolts of that kingdom with Codorm on the one hand, and Mutatauel on the other, already almost completely in possession of Upper Cochin, because the Dutch made Mutatauel to adopt it anew from the Queen, who was present at the battle of the previous day. At the end of the battle, she was led by force on the shoulders of a Nambuthiri or Brahmin (I believe the custom of the already old queens) to Ryckloff, who obliged her to accept Mutatauel, and he prostrated, asked her pardon, if constrained by necessity, he sought to recuperate what the other force had unjustly taken away from him. It seemed convenient to the said Fathers that one of them went disguised to the enemy camp, conforming to the response of Ryckloff, to ensure better the things. Father Godfrey executed it immediately, who departed from the city, without any notice, and went to Upper Cochin. He was led to Ryckloff, to whom his identity was revealed and was benignly received. But since on the very same day he wanted to try to enter the city through the door, which they call "Guadalupo", without concluding anything, they made him embark on the flagship - and then left him alone with a passport for me and for my companions, courteously offering us embarkation for Persia, without wanting to oblige us to other things, saying that before seeing the result of the war, it was not convenient to pledge anything. He ordered, the father, who remained in the city to put a white sheet of cloth at the window of his house, in case of capture, and since Fr Godfrey requested him to obtain from Mutatauel a guarantee of safety in the whole of the kingdom, Ryckloff authorized him to obtain it in his name. I received the guarantee of safety in an *ola*, on condition that I would help him with an army of my Christians of St Thomas.

The Dutch, after attempting to break the door of "Guadalupo", where they had been strongly repelled by Simon

Gomez de Silva - with some danger for Fr Marcel, who was present there to confess the soldiers - they attacked the city from everywhere. Fr Godfrey, who passed through Upper Cochin among odoriferous dead bodies, did not find the ferry-boat in the river, but rather the two marines of the house, from whom the *nayars* had taken the ferry by force. He obtained another one from the Dutch and in which he came to Muttom, knowing that already Cochin was assaulted on every side. When I saw him and knew the work done with Ryckloff, I was seized with thousands of worries, both for the little disposition of the Dutch to leave me in Malabar, when they might have seized Cochin, and for the fear that the Portuguese might penetrate one day the passage of the said Father in the enemy camp. In any case I consoled myself with a vibrant hope that God would favour and defend the good will.

In the meantime, as the Dutch were attacking and trying incessantly to confiscate Cochin, there reached from Goa a reinforcement of five ships and about 200 soldiers, with much ammunition. The major captain Emmanuel Salgado, Cavalier of St Jacob, having discovered from far away the entrance of the port of the city, full of enemy ships, passed to the open beach of Purakkad, and having disembarked, made immediately to pull the ships to the land. That king, though a good friend, having considered in every way the danger of the city, doubting that he would fall into the hands of the Dutch, since the supply was little, dextrously procured to impede their passage through his land, and never consented to embarking in the river. The captains and the soldiers found themselves lost, because having obtained finally the permission to march through the beach towards Cochin, they were constrained to sell, rather to throw away whatever they had brought for their use, because there was not found any kind of ride (strong street). A great quantity of ammunitions (weapons) which the marines - the majority of whom fled - had carried with them, was lost. The soldiers threw the weapons secretly in the sea and in the wood, through which they passed, to get rid of weight. They reached Saint Andrew, a league away from Muttom, whence they wanted to march through the beach towards Cochin. With this action, they put themselves into the mouth of the wolf, because the enemy

awaited them throughout the passage in an ambush and they could not have escaped in any manner.

As soon as I knew of the arrival of the said aid in Purakkad, I judged that it was a good occasion to send Fr Godfrey to Cochin, with the pretext of notifying to Sarmento to help and console Fr Marcel, who was alone inside the city. Although the affair was very risky, the said Father wanted to try it. He travelled through the river of Diamper, and from there over land he reached Anjikaimal in front of Cochin and he entered there at night with a very little ferry without being noticed by anyone. Fr Marcel was very much consoled at this, and Fr Godfrey with him went to Sarmento, who with all others rejoiced at the notice, but it seemed difficult, that the aid could enter in the city. Yet he wrote to Salgado, who passed to Muttom, to choose the surer and easier way with the counsel and help of friendly people and to enter the city at night. Having obtained permission to depart the said Father returned from there to Muttom through infinite dangers, because the gentiles plundered anyone travelling in those rivers, which at that time were full of robbers. Anyhow the said Father courageously passed though them several times to meet various necessities.

The "Castle of the Magi", broken down by the Dutch, would have surrendered within 24 hours, if help had not been reached. But in the night the captain and those few soldiers there fled, embarked in a gunboat. In the morning when the Dutch sent a messenger to the entrance, there was no one to respond to him. Since they feared some stratagems, they occupied it with maximum caution and then left a sufficient garrison there.

Codorm, seeing that Upper Cochin was lost, and the city under siege, came to Muttom, where there also arrived two thousand *nayars*, and with them he passed again to Aroor in front of the said Castle. Fr Godfrey also went there to hear the confession of sixty Christian soldiers, subjects of the Portuguese.

Salgado came to Muttom with his army and ammunitions and I had to provide food for all, morning and evening; Salgado, other captains and officials sat with me at my table. They left the ammunitions in that church; all confessed and then left to Aroor in boats, to be united with Codorm, and to stand near the city, where

Sarmento, who was punctually informed of everything, the first night sent them boats, ships and armed vessels, so that with them they might pass silently and cautiously to Cochin before daybreak, and might enter there without being noticed by the Dutch.

CHAPTER XV

REMOVAL OF THE SIEGE, VARIOUS FUNCTIONS IN MUTTOM AND PASSAGE TO COCHIN

When I quickly embarked to pass from Cochin to Muttom, the Portuguese, who just gave a few hours of time to my fathers companions to save some objects, set fire to the house, in which I stayed, although much luggage remained inside. At the same time they burned all the villages and the churches outside of the city, so that they might not be used by the Dutch, especially for firing artillery more freely. But they did it already so late and with so much hurry that there remained the walls, in the cover of which the Dutch installed many batteries, straining and troubling with them Cochin. They destroyed many buildings, particularly with bombs and mortars, which launched stones, bullets and grenades.

The Portuguese had felt very much my return to the inside of Malabar, but then remained quiet, seeing that perhaps it was of profit for them and they were much edified by Fr Marcel, who in great dangers ran readily to confess the soldiers, so much that once he was wounded by the crushed stone of a launch of artillery. The Dutch attempted to confiscate any place and to make some entrance or redoubt, but they were always repelled with much loss on their part, without ever coming to a general siege, nor did they venture to mount the breach of any barrage, demolished by their canons. When the reinforcement entered Cochin, it bewildered them very much with a real volley from every corner of the city of artillery and musketry, which very much destroyed their lodges and trenches, killing some.

At this time unusually it rained so much that the whole enemy camp was flooded, inflicting much damage on their ammunitions.

Ryckloff wanted to negotiate with the Portuguese, and through a herald with white flag presented a letter to Sarmento, in which he made instance, and the latter, in order not to admit anyone in the city, sent outside three commissioners, who were accompanied to the captain-ship, because not even Ryckloff wanted them in the camps. Then they negotiated only for the capitulation for the surrender of the city, proposing more advantageous conditions than ever, but he was not given ears, and the commissioners returned without agreeing to anything.

On the following days until 2 March (1662) the Dutch tightened the city and attacked it more furiously, and demonstrated that subsequently they would proceed to a general assault. Therefore the Portuguese were at the edge of losing. But in the morning they saw that the siege was broken and all the Dutch had embarked, those who were at the shore of the river around the city, remaining only the batteries of the island. It is not possible to sufficiently describe the joy and jubilation of the people of Cochin. All ran, men and women, old and young, as if they were resurrected from death to life, to plunder the enemy camps, where they found some upkeeps and remnants of war. Then they sacked the bizarre informers and Jews. For a little lapse of time they did not take Mutatauel with Paliath, who just had time to escape through the river, seeing the embarkation of the Dutch, taking place without their knowledge.

Codorm, immediately informed of the event, went to Upper Cochin and then from there entered the city triumphantly with 700 *nayars*, where he was received with the maximum festivities, and from then on all called him king and recognised him as such. In danger the Portuguese made recourse to God. They did penance, the enemies were reconciled with one another and the canons, before scandalously in discord, were pacified and reconciled among themselves. With this it seemed that the anger of God was placated, liberating the city, designated Holy Cross, on the first Friday of March (1662). It is certain that the unusual rains constrained the enemy to break the siege, having lost much of their ammunition during a wild tempest in Travancore and all that remained being wet and there being no possibility of its being repaired.

In the following night I rose up to the news of the liberation of Cochin, and in the beginning I considered it a fable, but later realized that it was a sure fact and I cried in the joy. Not only Christians, but also the Moors, Jews and gentiles of that place came to celebrate in front of the church, and consequently it was not possible to take rest at that night. They ran before day to St Andrews to see the enemy camp and to capture any Dutch who failed to escape. It was only by chance that some persons of my house were not killed by the guards of that church, who judged them suspicious people; but then on being acquainted of this, they showed them courtesy.

A little later Don Bernard de Noronha, brother-in-law of Sarmento came to Muttom, with many boats, to take the ammunition, left in that church by Salgado. I rejoiced very much at this, since it was in great danger, because of the presence of much dust. Further it was necessary to keep guards there regularly, for fear of fire and of some Moors, secret followers of Mutatauel.

As soon as I arrived in Muttom, I wrote to the churches of Malabar and animated the Christians and the obedient *cassanars*, to oppose the arrogance of the schismatics with me and form an assembly of the more important leaders to govern with their counsel at a time of so grave travail, in which many still found themselves. The liberation of Cochin provoked the gravest fear among the schismatics and the princes confederated with the Dutch, and for this reason the King of Kottayam wrote to me an *ola*, convoked his Christian subjects and told them that I was their true prelate and not the former Archdeacon, who cheated him. The King also asked them to bring me to Kottayam, because he wanted all of them to promise me obedience. But this did not have any effect, because no one could trust a king until then a declared enemy of the Portuguese, the creator of the Intruder and much deceitful. There was hope of working with him, without risking any deceit, only when the prosperity of Cochin had advanced and this would have put him in check.

During the time I remained there I celebrated general Orders twice. Since Sarmento and other Portuguese called me to Cochin for Holy Week, I wanted to please them, but the Christians were so opposed to the idea that it became necessary to celebrate it with

them, conducting all the functions proper to that time and the following solemnities of Easter, with joy, participation and inexpressible devotion, because it was something rare in that Christianity, and of which there was hardly any memory. On Holy Thursday the washing of the feet was conducted tenuously and all remained very highly edified with that ceremony. On Easter night a most beautiful procession was conducted, which lasted for three hours, with two frames, artificial fire works, a very great number of lamps and the continuous launch of firecrackers. Then dawn there was solemn high Mass, and I celebrated another rather short one, with the Most Holy, which edified them very much. After the festivities in Muttom I stayed there for three more days. Then to please the Portuguese, I went to Cochin, still stricken by the Dutch, camped on the Island.

CHAPTER XVI

MY DANGERS, TREATIES OF EDAPPALLY AND PASSAGE TO CHOWARA

Although the siege of that city was terminated, the war was not ended, because the Dutch attacked it cruelly from Vaipin. After I reached Cochin, there were some attacks on my house with the gravest risk of all, bullets of 24 calibre arriving there and an angel or rather a devil (namely, two bullets bound together) struck the right side of the antechamber with the consequent splinter of the smashed beams reaching me and shattering the door. Another bigger bullet, after breaking down the major part of the roof of my house with grave danger to Fr John Thaddeus and a servant fell at my feet in the garden, where I remained, reciting the Divine Office.

The house was almost completely open, stricken by more than 70 attacks and it could not be repaired before the departure of the Dutch from Vaipin, which happened around 20 April (1662), constrained to withdraw by strong rains, which unusually continued. The Portuguese believed that the war was completely terminated and hence they could be the lords of all the kingdoms in

Malabar. But since the Dutch only withdrew to winter in Cranganore, and instead of demolishing it, they guarded it and fortified it very much, doing the same also in Vaipicotta, the place of Paliath, they became aware of their deceit. The Portuguese awaited some good reinforcement from Goa, so as to attack them in the four months of the winter. But since from there the galliots were sent very late, a tempest broke them on the shore of Honawar, almost everything in them being lost. I had my own part in this action, because many items, which are not found in Malabar, were brought from Goa to me.

In order to take advantage of that cease-fire, I again decided to enter Malabar, without any fear of winter, moved by the consideration of what could happen to the city in the new campaign. First I sent two of my father companions to Edappally with letters of Sarmento and mine to that king, so that, after casting out the schismatic vicar, the elder brother of the Intruder from the principal church of that place, he might give me its possession. But, since the said vicar used to pay him a great sum every year, he had so deceived things that at that time my action had no effect and he left at my disposition, only the church of St George. Since this church had a only a few people, it was not advantageous for me. Hence, with everything necessary I embarked for Chowara, but I met Codorm, already King of Cochin, and I requested him to deign to descend to the ground because it was necessary to speak with him in favour of the church of Muttom. He demonstrated himself most ready for everything and under a very big hut opened on two sides, he listened to me and granted me what I wanted. He had a scarlet capote, over his naked body, having only a *mund*, from umbilical to the waist. Both of us sat face to face, six feet distant from each other. And on leaving, since I wanted to put on his neck a beautiful gold-plated silver chain, from which hung a golden medal with the portrait of the Supreme Pontiff, his men made signs to me that I might not touch him. He extended his hands below and I left it fall from above and immediately he put it around the neck. When we were about to embark, he passed on a boat to a certain neighbouring place to wash himself (because the gentile nobles consider themselves to be contaminated by contact and even by the excessive nearness of Christians).

I started again my journey towards Chowara, where I was received with overwhelming joy and devotion. There came also many *cassanars* and Christians from other neighbouring places, and among them those from Angamaly and Akaparambu. Persuaded by them I wrote a few letters to the king and to the princes of Alangad and Angamaly so that they might be content with my entry into their territories and might make the Christians their subjects to offer me obedience.

Chowara is situated in a most beautiful hill on the river of Alangad; the habitations and the streets are very clean and the people very devout and civil, who among the other manifestations of most cordial affection, ordered some most beautiful and most devout dances of some well disposed young people, who at the beginning of each dance, stood around, made the sign of the most holy Cross, turned the direction of the dance towards God, and then continued it with spiritual songs, until the end; each verse of which the coryphaeus began in a high tone. They did everything with such symmetry, correspondence and modesty that they edified all at the greatest level. O' if our festivities were likewise! Then yes, even the ecclesiastics could attend them without any difficulty.

From Chowara, after administering the sacrament of Confirmation and conducting other functions, as well as reading the decrees of the assembly of Diamper, I went to Kanjoor, where I did the same things, being received there also with much exultation. There I had some entertainment of jousting and the play of arms of some *panikkars*, arranged by those *mappilas*. From there I went to Malayattoor, the last church of Maleas towards the North, situated in a most beautiful wood, near the river, a very internal and meditative place. I reached there at night, but I was received by a very long procession of lights. Lest any strange schismatic might use the convenience of the wood and darkness to do me any harm, the Christians of Kanjoor and Chowara, who accompanied me, always made two thick rows of human walls and protected me.

In Malayattoor the governor, who still governs the said two places, visited me. Since there came a great number of gentiles, the governor said: it is a great shame and confusion for schismatic Christians to see so many of us (non-Christians) so affectionate to

Your Excellency, who come to visit you from every part, while they flee from you. The Christians obliged me to give him 64 *fanams* and he reciprocated with some fruit. Since a Malea gave me a living swan, it was necessary to thank this as well. This wood is full of similar and other animals, as well as many elephants, which sometimes do some harm to the church.

There was in this place a schismatic *cassanar*, who pretended to be sick, but since I had him told that if he could not come to me, I would go to him, he ran to my feet and asked pardon and declared himself a Catholic and always remained so. After visiting that church, and after doing the same things which I did elsewhere, I returned to Chowara, through the very same river, the most pretty, limpid and pleasing that can be found. It has yellow sands like gold, out of which the bed is made, and they are so nice and clean that sometimes slowing down my boat, loaded with almost 80 persons, although many got down in water and pushed it from place to place, never made even a smallest mark. The shores of this river were the delights of the Portuguese and they say that the waters of this river are so medicinal that it is beneficial for any illness. Some eat sitting on the shore and sleep there the whole night without any harm. And who even enters in the river with dirty clothes, comes out of it with the same washed and very nice. The water never hurts even if one drinks a great quantity. It is considered a ram of the Ganges, which flows to Malabar through occult ways, almost another bend, but which can be simply called the waters of Paradise.

In Chowara I was given the responses of the king and the princes of Alangad and Angamaly, in which they granted me the requested permissions and promised me their favour, certainly without speaking about money, which, for obtaining such a result was promised them by Fr Hyacinth, my former colleague, to be paid to them by Sarmento, after completing the affair of that time. Several times I had written to those princes and often I had annoyed them with the same matters, but they always insisted on ratifying the said promise, which I never wanted to do, because I did not have so much money. The other more than 20 princes, who rule over Malabar, asked me for the same, and even without this it was necessary to give good presents at their residence and in other

places to their governors. Seeing that the responses did not speak of money, and knowing that Sarmento recommended me warmly to that king his friend, I resolved to go to Alangad, but before that I had to go to Cochin, in order to obtain everything necessary for giving presents to the said princes.

CHAPTER XVII

VISIT OF ALANGAD, THE THREE CHURCHES OF ANGAMALY AND THE KING AND THE PRINCES OF THOSE PLACES

During the fifteen days, which we spent in the said churches, we always had very good weather, without any rain, but as soon as I returned to Cochin, the winter broke out furiously. I had with me a nephew of Fr Luke of the Cross, vicar general of the Dominican fathers and the Apostolic Inquisitor Emmanuel Gorgian Leite, whom, on the instance of his uncle, whose favour was very necessary for me, I ordained to the priesthood. In these days he sang his first Mass in my house with much pomp and offered a noble banquet to the important persons of the city. Afterwards he remained with me and accompanied me for sometime in Malabar, but not without great expense and uneasiness. In the meantime, because of the rain, I had to accommodate the boats under good protection, and after foreseeing everything necessary I went to "Cerali" in the Villa of a Portuguese cavalier, my great friend. From there I sent some of my father companions to Alangad, in order to know the disposition of those people, who were harassed and suffocated by the princes, so that they might not come to visit me and take me to their church. Some partisans of the Intruder complicated it as much as possible: in those places only one person is enough to jeopardise a whole place. Hence, it was necessary a period of time to elapse, and to send messengers repeatedly in order to dispose them to meet me and to receive me, as they afterwards did, assisted, forced and obliged by the brother-in-law of the king and by the principal ministers of the princes, who

accompanied me until the church, near which one of the schismatics attempted to prevent me from entering and caused some revolt, which soon subsided.

The Intruder was invalidly consecrated in that church, and as regards economic standards, the people there were the richest in Malabar, of whom some principal ones followed the Intruder. One of his friends was favoured by the secretary of the king. There took place confrontations and travails for about a month. The schismatics used to inebriate some of the most despicable persons and send them to the church, in order to counter me and to offend me with words or an army. But the most insolent of them was imprisoned and, was severely castigated as an example for the others.

There are four princes, who govern the kingdoms of Alangad and Angamaly. To the first is given the title of king and he is the elder in age. The second is called Elangur; the third Monangur and the fourth Nelangur. The first two are brothers, so also the other ones, but distinct from the former. All govern conjointly at the same time, with very little dependence and subordination, having special rights over distinct families of each place; because of this negotiation with them is extremely difficult. I visited the two residing in Alangad, and I was admitted inside their palace, where the king gave me audience, sitting on a miserable bench and covered from umbilicus to knee by a simple cloth. But the other prince, who was the Monangur, stood on foot placed on a big sword, with a hilt of silver and belted with a most beautiful *mund*, full of gold at the borders. I had an ordinary seat, and after the completion of the negotiation on the affairs of that Christianity, I presented each one with two silk cloths, four flasks of odorous water and four pieces of sandalwood, but this seemed too little to the Monangur. Only the king reciprocated, presenting me with two swans. The Monangur united with the others of Angamaly, and several times reminded me of the promise of Fr Hyacinth, and obliged me fulfil, - for the better I did not say anything - impeding me from passing to Angamaly, because he knew that it was very important for me. Since many times the affair was at the point of being lost and I began to embark the things necessary for my return

to Cochin, rather simulating, than with a mind to do so, in order to tempt him again.

The said prince Monangur and his brother Nelangur, instigated by their interest in the promises made by some schismatics and to obtain the benevolence of the Dutch, secretly negotiated to give me into their hands. The schismatics of Alangad also contributed to this treason. But the Commentator of Cranganore, (who afterwards referred it to me) knowing who I was, and having a Catholic spirit, made fun of the said princes and harshly reprimanded the schismatics, exhorting them to obey me as their true prelate. With this, the business took a better turn, although the Intruder and his followers, in order to hamper it both in Alangad and in every other place, never slept. In this church I administered the sacrament of Confirmation a few times, celebrated general Orders, also re-ordaining those invalidly promoted by the Intruder. After absolving those people from censures incurred through the schism, I had the letters as well as the ordinances made in Diamper read. I declared null, invalid and sacrilegious, from the beginning, the oath of fidelity made to the Intruder, because I knew that some refused to obey me because of this. I appointed a vicar there and published the Indulgence and these very same things I did in each church, which I visited, with the exception of appointing a vicar, namely a parish priest, in places where there already was present a Catholic one. When I absolved them from the censures and while the whole population remained prostrated, striking their heart, I was moved in such a way, as to remember that many years ago at that very same altar the monstrous schism had initiated, that because of joy I could not utter any word.

Having happily terminated the affair in Alangad, which had the greatest effect in the whole of Malabar, I resolved to go to Angamaly, contrary to the opinion of the Portuguese and others, because the way was near Vaipicotta, the place of Paliath, and was guarded by the Dutch. It was said that the opponents would have caught me through traps. But I judged it necessary to risk it, so as to convert the schismatics and console the Catholics, who three years ago had given obedience to Fr Hyacinth and because of that were suffering very grave travail, harassed and constrained by their

princes to follow the Intruder, which they never wanted to do after they had been cleared of the deceit. The disgusted princes destroyed their houses, prohibited the *cassanars* to assist at the office of the dead and at marriages, and consequently only the schismatics could celebrate them. Because of this the sons and daughters of Catholics remained a long time without celebrating marriage, something well-known in Malabar, where marriage is celebrated in the very beginning of puberty (*in ipso limine pubertatis*). As those churches are in the manner of a fortress with walls around, those poor Catholics retired to live inside one of them, called the church of the Archbishop.

The people of Angamaly are considered the most proud and barbarous (la più fiera e più barbara) of Malabar, and for this reason the second and fourth princes should have accompanied me for more security, but without keeping their words or because of convenience, they sent only four soldiers to escort me, although before reaching there, all the Catholics, among whom were many *cassanars* and *samas* came to meet me, at 2 o' clock in the night, with indescribable joy. They accompanied me to their church with very great festivity, passing in front of the "church of the People" and the "church of the Archdeacon", at that time schismatic churches. At the entrance of the latter church many followers of the Intruder gathered, who from far away began to affront me with howling and very much discomposed bawling. One of them was about to attack me with a musket, ready to kill me, but the *cassanars* and the *samas* surrounded my *pallack* and more important Christians protected me with a wall of thick rollers, while the others went to threaten the schismatics and constrain them to flee. As this happened at night the danger and the perturbation were great; persons were not lacking who cried out several times "war", "to the arms", in order to disperse us and some of my servants were even assaulted, but soon the tumult was calmed. The Catholics were victorious, shouting "live long" in their language, until the church, with the launch of firecrackers, the playing of various instruments, with lamps at the entrance of all the houses of the Catholics and with other demonstrations of a greatest feast, until we reached the archiepiscopal church, built at the frontier of the city.

The sufferings and the travails in Angamaly are absolutely beyond description, because it seemed that in that place the entire of hell rampaged to impede the total reduction of that Metropolitan See of Malabar and the salvation of so many souls which resulted from that. It was in July (1662), the heart of winter, and so rigorous due to the continuous rain that for some days ten, twelve and fifteen of my family and companions simultaneously fell ill, although (because of God's mercy) I remained always healthy. Fr Godfrey had a most obstinate body-weakness, which lasted almost for two years. The Intruder did not cease to write to his own people, in order to render them obstinate in their evil. One of his friends named Catelluma, the richest woman in the whole of Malabar, gave great presents to the concubines of the aforesaid princes, so that they might counter me. A Christian, addicted to magic, Tarakan, that is, a customs officer of the place, did everything possible to prevent me from obtaining any positive result. The princes, moved by their own interest, did not want to do anything, without a sure promise of a great sum of money. It was necessary to write several times to the king and to Molangur in Alangad, so that they might favour me with a contract in writing between us. The king was already completely on my side, on account of Sarmento, and because he was well aware of the deceptions of the Intruder. They wrote to the other two princes of Angamaly to put an end to the business and let me take possession of the other two churches and to constrain the rebels to offer me obedience. But everything was in vain and every day there was some confrontation on the part of the schismatics. Compelled by my insistence, once the princes promised that subsequently they would give me the possession of the "church of the People" and the other one of the Archdeacon, and that I could do there whatever I wanted; it seemed that the business had a happy end. In the morning I sent the fathers, my companions there, who saw the princes in front of the first church, negotiating with the schismatics and obliging them to receive me there. They pretended differences among them and much difficulty among the rebels, without ever resolving anything, so that the elapse of time might oblige me to say Mass in the church where I was staying, as in fact I did, when I saw the time already late. The princes returned to their palaces, the

schismatics remaining very happy in the “church of the People”, where they were banqueted by Catelluma and there they danced publicly, insulting the Catholics and me.

Similar procedures of the princes forced me to expect little good result. But as it was seen, since they always held me with promises I judged that at the end they would have favoured me. In order to be certain of the mind and to accelerate the business, several times I pretended to abandon that venture and return to Cochin. On this occasion I made it in a very special manner, manifesting myself most disgusted and I arranged everything for embarkation. The princes immediately sent some persons to hold me back and made me understand in a skilful manner that the schismatics had paid them 400 *fanams*, lest on that Sunday they would permit me to take possession of the “church of the People”, saying that I should have suffered that disgust, in order that they might have some money, since they could have got only very little from me. Finally such were the signs they used and the straightened circumstances in which they placed the Catholics and me, that we decided to give the princes 1000 *fanams* and to the principal ministers some other gifts, I contributing one third of that expense. I visited both of them in a very low and obscure palace. They were sitting on a divan, only with a *mund*, and for the rest completely naked and one of their nephews of about ten years, had nothing at the place of the *mund*, but only a palm leaf. I gave them the money, and with this the business also terminated. With great accompaniment and festivity I took possession of the two churches, and conducted the same functions as I did in other places. I appointed a vicar in the “church of the People”, and there remained only six persons, who did not offer me public obedience. There also I celebrated general Ordinations, to the satisfaction of all. Many marriages were celebrated, houses were rebuilt, the Christians again began to enjoy ancient privileges and liberty, almost resurrected from death to life. Also people from various churches, like “Magnapere”, “Ciulacuri” and others came to this place to offer me obedience, in such way that the travail succeeded to produce very great fruit.

CHAPTER XVIII

VISIT OF AKAPARAMBU: FEAST IN ALANGAD FOR A NEW MASS, PASSAGE FROM COCHIN TO MUTTOM

On a feast day I went from Angamaly to Akaparambu, where people from different places of Malabar came, and there I was received with demonstrations of singular joy, although a certain schismatic had spread that I went to rob money from the funds of that very rich church, being one of the more frequented of this Christianity. There I administered the sacrament of Confirmation to almost all, as I did in other churches, because there was hardly any memory of this sacrament ever being conferred; only in Diamper there was more information concerning it. I appointed a vicar in this church and after performing the other ordinary functions, I proceeded to Angamaly, and as I passed through the most beautiful camps, the people who accompanied me from different neighbouring places were very many and well armed (as is the custom of the Malabarians) and they were divided into two big teams, without my notice (I sat closed in a *pallack*) and they made the most beautiful skirmishes which frightened me from the beginning, since it seemed to me that the schismatics of other places might have come to attack me in that village. From there little later I returned to Alangad on 9 August (1662). Because of very heavy reins, those rivers were flooded, and hence it was impossible to navigate against the water. We lost the rudder in the river of Vaipicotta, but we went forward to Cranganore with the second one, to place ourselves in the hands of the enemy. We were indescribably worried until at midnight we reached a small house, where we ate and stayed until the following morning, when food materials arrived and other provisions remained behind. There the two sons of Catelluma, urged and harassed by the two princes, came to offer me obedience, in her name too. From them and from other schismatics, who were reduced to the Catholic Church, I knew that the supporters of the Intruder followed him, not because they believed him to be a true bishop, but to oblige me with their

adherence and pertinence to make him a bishop, the said oath being taken among them.

I again visited the old king and prince Monangur to thank them for what they had done in my favour and for recommending to them those already obedient churches and to request them to castigate a few of the vilest schismatics, who remained in schism in those places, since they shouted once at ecclesiastical rites and spread infinite lies such as: I was a magician and I used to eat serpents, so that their princes and kings might favour me, and because of this I was loved and followed by all, and they divulged many other such propositions.

At last I went to Cochin, and from there a little later again to Alangad, to participate at the solemn first Mass of the son of a leading Christian of that place, ordained by me. It was with so great a solemnity that there came an infinite number of people, among whom very many gentiles, Moors and Jews. There intervened also the old king, vested in a rich juba of most beautiful brocade on the naked body with open chest, and legs and feet totally naked, and the princes Monangur and Elangur richly ornamented and with accompaniments. There were different choirs of instruments, which accompanied me when I went from the cart to the church, on reaching which I greeted them and thanked them for the honour which they paid to the new priest, to those Christians and to me. The two princes attended to a devout procession, in which three young men acted Malabar sermons, naked from the waist to the top, but adorned with rich bracelets and gold necklaces, with a silk hat on the head; they held their left decently supported on a bare sword turned to the earth and had silver chains. After the Gospel one *cassanar* preached a very long sermon, the functions lasting for five hours, with continuous launching of firecrackers and the symphony of very many and various instruments. From such demonstrations, there resulted the greatest confusion to the Intruder and his followers, because it was a public triumph of the Catholics against the schism of Malabar, originated and developed years ago in that very same place.

After returning to Cochin, I negotiated entering the kingdom of Kaduthuruthy, going to Kaduthuruthy and undertaking a visit of the churches in that kingdom, so that before a new siege (of

Cochin), of which I was afraid, I might be seen engaged and away. After arranging things, with the consent of the Portuguese themselves, I set out for that task, but first it was necessary to make them believe that I might return very soon. Having arrived in Muttom I sent one of the father companions to Kaduthuruthy in order to know the exact disposition of the king and of the churches of Kaduthuruthy. He found the king gravely sick and noted that his elder son very much urged my entry to that kingdom, where in those very same days went the King of Kottayam, a supporter of the Intruder. It was known that they had plotted to imprison me and to take my possessions. But divine providence did not permit it, because the sick king died and the adopted son (as the custom in Malabar) immediately took over the government. He was the archenemy of the aforesaid Kottayam, the elder son of the deceased king.

This change permitted nothing other than negotiating to go there later, knowing that the new king at the beginning of his reign was very much busy, and that it was better to wait for his probable invitation to visit his churches, and to make instance for the same. So I remained in Muttom, and a little later I received news that a modest aid, sent from Goa, had reached Cochin, but because of an accident during exit from the port one vessel was lost, which carried a better army and almost all the munitions, as well as some provisions for my house. This caused great suffering and for me this was the second loss of much consideration.

CHAPTER XIX

NEW SIEGE OF COCHIN, VISIT OF THE KING OF KADUTHURUTHY, PASSAGE TO THAT PLACE, MY IMPRISONMENT AND TRAVAL

In the meantime, while I was in Muttom, (as soon as the winter ended)) in order to begin the new campaign, the Dutch came from Cranganore to Vaipin and began to attack the city, which Sarmento had well fortified and furnished with much effort and incredible expenses, without taking any rest. As a result it seemed that the city was impregnable. However, I did not place much hope in these material apparatuses, because the more important seemed to be lacking. During the preceding siege there was recourse to God, many sins were abandoned, some disagreements were soothed out and the souls of the disunited cathedral canons were pacified. But once the risk terminated, they returned to the vomit worse than before, and the reverend canons turned out to be soldiers of a civil war with the shedding of blood, without any reverence for sacred places, and provoking scandal for the entire population. Hence, there was every reason to fear the wrath of God, of which the Dutch forces were only instruments.

I was called several times by the General and the important persons in Cochin, and with orders so precise that they did not leave space for any excuse or impediment. This constrained me to respond without any dissimulation and presenting the most vigorous motives and reasons which compelled me to remain in Malabar, for not leaving the sheep in the mouth of the wolf at times so agitated. I indicated the accidents that could happen to the city and the account which I should have given to God and to His Holiness (the Pope) of those souls in any event. With regard to the dangers, to which I was exposing myself, staying outside Cochin, when from there no help could be obtained, I stated that they would not have been of scruple to me, as any disaster, which might have happened in the city. I sent two of my fathers companions, Marcel and Godfrey, the first one German and the other Fleming to Cochin, in order to assist there, administering the sacraments, so

that remaining outside, they might not be a cause of suspicion to the Portuguese, of what had been said about the previous siege. Since the incidents of war are various, I ordered them as to what they should do for the benefit of Malabar and for my well-being, if the Dutch occupied the city.

There arrived many enemy ships from Holland (the Netherlands) with many and very good soldiers, which easily disembarked and they occupied Upper Cochin, because the majority of the *nayar*-guards fled, and Codorm, seeing that he had only a few people, withdrew to Anjikaimal. The Portuguese did not intervene either because they did not think that they would be closed in the city or because they did not want to risk the small army in impeding the enemy from landing. This would also have been most difficult, since they did not have horses to ride along the fifteen mile long beach. Therefore the Dutch already the lords of Upper Cochin, and the "Castle of the Kings", which they had immediately conquered, blocked the city and surrounded it with very many batteries of big cannons, which they installed even in a small island near Vaipin, and the port was completely closed by their vessels. They entered with armed rowboats through the river and attacked Anjikaimal, where stayed Codorm with his few people, but with the help of the soldiers of the King of Purakkad, they repelled the Dutch several times, with much loss among them. There died a very valiant St Thomas Christian, and the said king had his body taken to Kudamallur, with orders to that parish priest to bury him with much pomp, since he died in defence of the law of the Portuguese, something common among the Malabar people. Finally the Dutch confiscated Anjikaimal, whence some sustenance used to pass to Cochin at night with great risks.

I wanted to send some provisions to the fathers my companions, who were inside Cochin. The person, who carried them, though he reached near the city, being better aware of the danger, he did not wish to enter. One of my marines, to receive a little money - I do not know how much - risked himself, but did not reach there. After some times two native persons were seen hanged in a small island of that river, one of them, it is believed, might be my marine, because he was never seen again.

Every day there were deaths among the Portuguese and the enemies, either from the continuous shot of cannons, motor fire and bombs or from the frequent skirmishes, which were made even at night, or from special attacks which were often repeated.

In the meantime I stayed in Muttom and did whatever could be of benefit for that Christianity, celebrating several times general Orders and governing Malabar without much travail. I maintained friendship with Fr John de Silva of the Society of Jesus, whom I had often with me and I enjoyed his sweet conversation. He was the rector of St Andrews, a neighbouring place along the sea, belonging to the diocese of Cochin. He always favoured me very much; but more particularly during the feast of our holy Mother Theresa, which I celebrated solemnly in that place, where at the same time Fr John Thaddeus baptised a gentile, and several St Thomas Christians came to offer obedience. Even a prince, a brother of Codorm, who reached there a little before from Tanur visited me and made me very great offerings of his assistance and favour. He knew that one *nayar* had robbed me of a basin of little price. He made to catch him, obliged him to give it back, and decided to send him to war for punishment of the theft. Since he resisted, as he was conducted to embark, he was cruelly assassinated.

Since I received ever worse news about the city, I doubted about some sinister events and I took care to negotiate with the new King of Kaduthuruthy (Vadakkenkur), in order to be able to pass to Kaduthuruthy, being a place far away from Cochin, and that king being a native. I received a letter from him, in which he expressed his desire to see me, and so I went immediately to visit him. He received me at the church of Holy Redeemer of "Bereate", a parish of a very few people in a deserted locality. I presented him with a beautiful carpet and two satin cushions, but they seemed very little to him, and he said this immediately, although afterwards he excused himself, with pretext of reverence, as never having dealt with bishops and being young and new in the kingdom. His silence was taken as his favour for the Intruder, but his excuse gave me some courage. Notwithstanding the instances from Cochin, asking me not to pass to Kaduthuruthy, I went there. I was received there by the *cassanars* and the Christians of the big

church (*valiapalli*) and by many from the other small church with great festivity. But very soon I was lost, to the indescribable affliction of Catholics and mine, because the king went to Thodupuzha, a very distant place, and the governor of Kadauthuruthy informed him that all the churches of his kingdom, numbering 25, were coming to offer me obedience without his knowledge and therefore without any gain, as one very important *panikkar*, having been bribed by me with much money (as falsely supposed), favoured me. He sent an order, which held me in the "big church" without doing anything until his return. The governor, on the basis of this order, sequestered my boats and placed guards at the doors of the church and the house, where I remained imprisoned with *parravu* with very great notoriety and insult. All this was done at the instance of some schismatics, who with the payment of money rendered it possible. But so many misfortunes, infirmities and travails fell upon him (upon the governor) unexpectedly that after some days he came to ask my pardon and everything turned to my favour; he helped me very much with the king and with the *cassanars*. The person who defended me and animated me very much, was the aforesaid idolatrous *panikkar*, who had no other interest than my prayers, so that God might propagate his family. Since he had three very powerful brothers in that kingdom and since he had promised me that if the king were contrary to me, without any difficulty he would lead me and accompany me until, wherever I might have desired to go, I was safe.

A most insolent *nayar* came to Kaduthuruthy - I don't know, whether he was sent by the Intruder or by some schismatics – and he showered outrages and insults up on me, which the good Christians soon remedied. One of those Christians, the most important one, but mentally a little retarded, did not leave me day and night, but always stood in my room, ensuring that all gave me the greatest reverence. Once he was almost about to kill some *nayars*, sent by the governor for arresting me, who did not know how to save themselves, except by fleeing. There were quarrels between my dispenser with others, which caused the greatest dislike. The *cassanars* of the other neighbouring parish, divided among themselves and contrary to each other, came to me and I

declared them excommunicated and put them under house arrest. But afterwards I had them come humbly to ask for pardon. I absolved them and effected a stable friendship among them, adjusting their differences to the satisfaction of all. Despite the order of the king, I administered the sacrament of Confirmation to the people of those and other parishes, who from everywhere gathered there, but I celebrated Orders in December (1662) only for those of other kingdoms.

The King of Kottayam, seeing that Cochin was in danger, favoured more than ever the Intruder for money and obliged the people of the big church (*valiapalli*) of Kottayam (Catholic), to kiss his hand, and almost all did that, but so much against their will that immediately they came to Kaduthuruthy (where their parish priest, a very good priest had fled with another *cassanar*) to ask my pardon and receive Confirmation, and hardly passed any day without the necessity of my conferring this sacrament.

I used to share with the sick a little earth of Malta, called of St Paul and the Manna of St Nicholas. I saw from this so good and manifest effects that even gentiles, and indeed some important ones, came to ask me for it, and among them two sisters of prince Morekali, lord of Kuravilangad, who turned out to my favour, against the Intruder, and with this was gained much credit among those peoples.

CHAPTER XX

UNHAPPY LOSS OF COCHIN

For some times the events of the war of Cochin were very varied, although with less loss of the Portuguese, than of the enemies. Nevertheless the latter always obtained some gain and tightened the city with their approaches in such a way that it was closed from sea, land and rivers, without there being any possibility of anything entering. Everywhere the batteries were so numerous that they seemed to be only one continuum. These batteries unceasingly discharged their infernal fury against the fortifications and houses, and it was not safe to live there, particularly because of many stones and granite slabs, which did indescribable damage. Among these there were also some deposits, full of well loaded pistols, which caused a great number of massacres, being in thickly populated areas. The city, with the loss of Anjikaimal, immediately began to feel the lack of food materials, since the poor people could not have foreseen them for a long time. Codorm, abandoned by his *nayars*, withdrew to a secure place, without helping the Portuguese any more. The King of Purakkad did not see any possibility of aiding them. The priests, my companions, day and night succoured all the bastions, hearing confessions and celebrating holy Mass in one or in other, which had greatest effect for those souls, all remaining most edified.

On 6 January 1663, having seen the great danger of the city, the Portuguese ordered a solemn procession of penitence to placate the wrath of God and to implore his help, but they did not adopt sufficient means, namely the reformation of their sins. At the best moment of the procession, when all paraded striking their hearts and breaking into tears, the enemy fired all the artillery, and after making a breach in the bastion of "Caloette" near my first house, entered there with such fury that the Portuguese army there fled immediately. When, having been given a sign, Sarmento knew this, he turned the cannon and the stone-launchers towards the same city and the street, through which it was possible to help. Sarmento sent some troops of soldiers, who ran to counter attack and repel the Dutch. But the Dutch, who also occupied the

neighbouring houses, killed all of them and it was like sending them to a slaughterhouse. Simon Gomez de Silva and other captains, having seen the disorder, alerted Sarmento to entrench the entrance of that street and fortify it as far as possible, so that the already victorious enemy might not lay waste the whole city on the same day. This was very useful for containing that fury and to resisting it until night, the most painful and miserable Cochin ever experienced.

In the morning as the Dutch were about to raise the white flag, to negotiate capitulation, there came already some from the Portuguese, who were very much prejudiced. Ryckloff received the Commissioners of the city, who asked for some conditions for its surrender. But he answered them that it was already late. With all this he promised some conditions, which were very much honoured, regarding the city which had already been entered and without doubt lost. The hostilities ceased, and the whole of that day was utilised in burying the dead, who from the Portuguese side counted more than three hundred, and among whom many clerics and religious, one of them, a Dominican, over seventy years old, who in an extra courageous manner, with a crucifix in his left hand and arms in his right stood ready to the fight those who pretended to succour the said bastion.

The following night saw the destruction of the churches and the Most Holy. All the ornaments were stripped away, a big fire was lighted on the square in front of each church, and the said ornaments, the sacred statutes, crucifixes, pictures, missals and everything pertaining to divine worship were thrown into it. This scene caused those miserable people, who had been won over, lost and the most afflicted, to cry most pitifully. Many fled in some boats amidst the enemies into the dark. A certain religious, carrying gold, part of which was recommended by a chevalier to his friend, fell in water, and was never seen again. Many gentile women gathered in the house of my priest companions, who, since being foreigners and one of them Dutch, hoped to help them with the Dutch, from whom they sought protection and obtained ten soldiers at the entrance.

Early on the next day it was Sarmento, draped in black (mourning dress) for the death of his cousin and brother-in-law,

who gave the keys of the city. The whole army surrendered their weapons. Ryckloff took possession of the city, and gathered all the women in the churches, and the more noble ones in some particular houses under protection. He collected the silver goods both from the temples and from the private houses of citizens. He promulgated a notification, prohibiting all taking drugs, dust or shots (bullets) and ordering all the Portuguese to withdraw to their houses, some of which had protection. Then he granted permission to his soldiers to plunder the city for three days. It is not possible to imagine nor to describe the cruelties of the soldiers, the abuses which they did to some women, as well as the screaming and the affliction of all. Those who shortly before were owners of most beautiful houses and plenty of money and goods, served by a good number of slaves, living in comfort and pleasure, had become within the blink of an eye, poor, naked, destitute and without even a hut to get recovered. Some women oppressed by distress lost even their life.

The Portuguese soldiers were to embark, to be sent to Europe in the first ships. The other Portuguese with their families as well as the religious and the clergy had to disembark in Goa. The natives were kept to populate the city and the slaves, both women and men for the service of the Dutch Company, although because of the courtesy of Ryckloff a man and a woman slave were conceded to honourable persons. They were also allowed to take away what they wore and some bundles of cloth. The nobles could take several more things, but at the embarkation and disembarkation and during the voyage they suffered very much and some lost even the little they had.

Two days before the fall of Cochin the King of Kaduthuruthy had returned from Thodupuzha, and a little later there arrived a boat with the Negroes (African slaves) of Simon Gomez and some Canarians (Canarini), who had fled the night before the surrender; they gave much information and confirmed the most miserable loss of the city. I, after making the said Negroes shave, so that they would not be recognized as slaves and after giving some refreshments and guidelines to the said fugitives, made them to leave immediately for Thodupuzha, so that from there they would pass through "Ballagate" (part of the caucuses) to Goa. It was a

good effort, because immediately that king attempted to catch them, but it was already late.

CHAPTER XXI

MY PERPLEXITY, TRAVAIL FOR THE LOSS OF COCHIN AND EFFORTS MADE WITH THE DUTCH TO REMAIN IN MALABAR

For the loss of Cochin, the joy of the schismatics and the Intruder was the greatest, while the anguish of the Catholics was indescribable. I suffered more than others because of Malabar. The *cassanars* and Christians from all the neighbouring places, *panikkars*, and other important gentiles, also in the name of the king, who just like any other, felt the fall of Cochin, because of his particular interest, came to console me. They persuaded me to take my residence in that place, because they offered to defend me with their goods and even with their life. The counsel and the exhibition of love pleased me, but I did not make any commitment, because I knew that everything depended on the Dutch. I did not have any information about my companions staying in Cochin. As some time had already elapsed, I resolved to write to Ryckloff and inside the letter I recommended another letter to the said fathers. It was certain that even if the letters reached the destination, there would not have been any result, but the envoy, after entering the city, because of excessive fear returned without giving the letters. Finally a letter of Fr Godfrey, together with a passport of Ryckloff reached me, which obliged me to go to Cochin to embark, conceding me only four days time and from the letter of the said father I understood that this provision had no remedy.

At this time the St Thomas Christians used to make a solemn abstinence for three days, which they call the fast of Jonas, and in the local language *Moonnunoyambu*, in honour of the three days, which the said prophet remained in the belly of the whale, as it symbolised the time, during which the body of Christ had to remain in the sepulchre. They do not eat, except at midnight, of

the alms of the more principal churches, which are shared in common, with festivity and great joy. Every day there is a solemn high Mass and homily. On the evening of the third day a most solemn procession is conducted, with very many lights, adoration of the Cross and the lighting of fires like those of Holy Saturday among us. That year I conducted the ceremony in the big church (*valiapalli*) of that place, where more than six thousand persons gathered, to whom I administered the sacrament of Confirmation. The unmarried women have a similar feast with less intensity three days before, during which they do not depart from the church and normally sing some devotional songs or engage in some modest plays, being dressed in some ornaments of gold and silver, and among other things some necklaces made only of pure gold, which they value much there, also for their good appearance.

On the third day of the said penitence, after the Mass I received in the same church the said letter of Fr Godfrey with the passport of Ryckloff, which caused me unspeakable affliction, but I dissimulated everything, lest the people might know about it. Afterwards, on reaching my house, I communicated the matter to Fr John Thaddeus and four priests from Cochin, who were with me, and they also were extremely agitated, and all remained as if lost and without any guidance. When we were invited to see some dances of several young Christians, accompanied by devotional songs, I excused myself as far as possible, but in order to satisfy them, again I had to go to the church full of people, to see and appreciate everything with much gratification in order not to perturb that feast. After this I resolved to try every means not to go out of Malabar. Hence I decided not to go to Cochin, but to write to Ryckloff and to send Fr John Thaddeus with instructions regarding this, while I remained there in a sea of afflictions, perplexities, thoughts, without ever closing my eyes day or night, seeing the evident danger of that poor Christianity of Malabar. The said father my companion, on reaching Cochin, did whatever was ordered in the written instructions. But the response of the Dutch was: that it was obligatory to execute the orders of the Company and of their States, with regard to all the ecclesiastics, as they had already been doing, that it would be infallibly done in every one of their conquests, without pardoning anyone, that they gave me ten

days to go to the city and that this was irrevocably determined in their Council and that the fathers of St Francis were also leaving (as I indicated to have understood), who were held closed inside the walls of Cochin and under the scrutiny of their own eyes. They did not want the said Fr John Thaddeus to return to Kaduthuruthy, but to inform me everything with an express mail; nevertheless afterwards they gave him permission, because it was said that it was against *Ius Gentium* to impede any one who from a free place entered there with their consent, with the confidence of a friend.

CHAPTER XXII

DIFFERENT EXPEDIENTS FOR THE GOOD OF MALABAR, MARVELLOUS ELECTION OF FR ALEXANDER PARAMBIL (DE CAMPO) AS BISHOP OF MEGARA

Before and after Fr John Thaddeus came with the response, I considered the greed and falsity of the Malabar princes, who having seen me without any protection and the contrariety of the Dutch, would have stripped me of everything within a short time. I did foresee how much the Intruder would cooperate in this. The Paliath propagated that I held many riches of the Portuguese and this placed me in very grave risk, not only my little wealth, but also my very life itself. It was divulged that the Dutch General wrote to the King of Kaduthuruthy, that if he wanted to have his friend the prince Mutatauel as the King of Cochin, he should expel me from his kingdom. It was propagated finally that, as the Dutch said, the order not to let any ecclesiastic remain in their conquests was only for political reasons and for the good of the (Dutch) state, since they (ecclesiastics) caused them to lose Brazil and a little before a secular priest had placed Giaffnapattanam in the Indies in grave risk. It was judged on this basis that my permanence in Malabar would have been for them reason for great jealousy, because of the multitude of Christians, my subjects, and that hence they would have persecuted me through money and through the most

interested gentile kings, already their slaves; and that in obliging me to depart, they would have favoured the Intruder and not me, and from this would have followed the ultimate, total and irreparable ruin of that Christianity, which would be completely lost for ever. After considering these and other reasons, which were also exaggerated by my priest companions through the aforementioned, who returned from Cochin with the response of the Dutch, I changed my determination to die remaining in Malabar, having seen that no profit could stem from it for those souls, since on the contrary it would have resulted in the gravest damage. Hence I decided to give another opportune remedy in that circumstance, namely to consecrate a most important and most virtuous *cassanar* as bishop of a certain Church *in partibus* and to constitute him vicar apostolic of that Christianity, conforming to the briefs and instructions which I held.

In all the journeys and past dealings until now with regard to the mission of Malabar, the assistance or the providence of God was never seen or experienced more manifestly than in this last occasion, because the possibility to move on and to go at that time to Kaduthuruthy, the unique place, where in such a miserable circumstances assemblies of Christians and most of the principal priests could be held and to deal with the election and consecration of a bishop, was a most special grace, because absolutely in no other place inside or outside Malabar, would it have been possible. I called the heads of each of those churches, clerics (*samas*) and lay faithful, separately and afterwards closed in my room, I made them to swear to keep the secret, and furthermore I ordered them to do it under censures. Afterwards I placed before them my specific necessity to leave, constrained by the Dutch, and with this presupposition, asked them what remedy could be given to that Christianity, which would be sufficient to keep the hands against the Intruder, until otherwise provided; whether it seemed to them sufficient to leave the governance in the hands of one, two or three *cassanars*, the most important ones of the whole Malabar, with the provision of holy oils for five years? The unanimous, proper and universal response of all the heads of each of the said churches, without the ones knowing the mind of others, was: to curse the Intruder, cry copiously, kneel down at my feet, offer their proper

goods and life so that I would remain, propose various places and modes for my defence, and make other manifestations of most intense feelings, without willing to propose any means, to ensure (the governance of) that Christianity in my absence. But compelling them with the most efficacious reasons, which necessitated my departure, I showed them that every other remedy was entirely useless and that without a bishop, that Christianity would be absolutely lost. I added that His Holiness because of so great a distance and for contingencies which could have occurred, had given me faculty to consecrate bishops and to give a vicar apostolic to Malabar. Therefore, since they also judged it necessary, let them propose a candidate for this (I pointed out to them the qualities), who would be provided afterwards in another better manner. On this occasion the assistance of the Holy Spirit was manifestly seen, because all unanimously with one mouth, through acclamation, and without the heads of the one church knowing the mind of the heads of the others, named whom I wanted and knew to be more capable than all others, namely Fr Alexander Parambil (de Campo), cousin of the Intruder and parish priest of St Mary Major of Kuravilangad, the most important church, he himself being an exemplary and holy man.

In that place there was a priest of 75 years old, called Alexander Kadavil, the most serious, learned and esteemed man in the whole of Malabar, but very ambitious and interested, singularly emulous and a competitor of Fr Alexander Parambil. They considered it very necessary that he too concurred in the election of the aforesaid, because otherwise being offended, it was afraid, he would pass to the side of the Intruder, with greatest prejudice against the whole of Malabar. However, I called him and in the presence of another cleric his most intimate friend I proposed to him the same as I did to the aforementioned heads of churches. He did, said and responded *ad verbum* just like those heads, but without nominating particularly anyone for the officc of the bishop. I added: he knew well how greatly it was necessary to give a pastor to that Christianity and that only he seemed to me capable of that grade and office, but there were three of the gravest obstacles: he being very poor, the lack of any capital for taking up an office which required much expenses, the excessive travails of that

bishopric which infallibly would have accelerated his death, and his advanced age which gave reason to fear that he would be easily lost before other provisions would be made from Rome. I presented all these with such effectiveness that the old man crying responded that truly the said things rendered him incapable of that office, that so as not to omit to provide for that Church in so urgent a necessity, that Fr Alexander Parambil was the only one for that office. In order to engage him more I added that since I did not consider him (Alexander Parambil) totally sufficient, I had the greatest scruple in condescending and that I would have done it, only if he obliged himself with an oath to assist him, to instruct him and to counsel him in the governance. He obliged himself and promised it with much affection. Having seen the assistance of God and since the time was very limited, I called together all the said heads of those churches, and among them, Alexander Parambil. After proposing to them in public, what I had communicated in secret, after various consultations, they (being previously informed of his mind) submitted everything to Fr Alexander Kadavil, who judged the inevitability of my departure and declared that it was more than necessary to have a bishop for that Christianity, and saying that his age rendered him incapable of that burden, which I wanted him to sustain, he nominated Fr Alexander Parambil as the only one in the whole of Malabar most able for that office. The acclamation of all followed this last counsel. Fr Alexander Parambil cried, objected very much as to his insufficiency and offered to assist any other person, if made bishop, with his money, person and life. But no one changed the opinion. I and all others constrained him to accept the nomination with very urgent reasons. Being convinced of all these, he threw himself at the feet of the other Fr Alexander and said that he would never accept so great an office, unless he did not promise first to instruct him, to counsel him, and always live together with him. He promised all these to him still genuflected and both of them embraced each other with such an affection that all shed tears.

After concluding this with common satisfaction, the decision was taken to make the last effort with the Intruder, sending two of his followers, in order to advise him to obey, with the hope of obtaining what was desired, and if not, with the threat of censures.

Twelve persons were jointly elected for inducing the king, and the important persons of the kingdom to consent to the consecration of Fr Alexander Parambil, his subject and vassal, as a bishop and to oblige themselves to make him obey and to hold to him subject the twenty-four churches of the same kingdom and to promise to keep away the Intruder, offering a good sum of money for this purpose.

CHAPTER XXIII

EFFORTS MADE WITH THE INTRUDER, WITH THE KING OF KADUTHURUTHY, WITH THE DUTCH AND WITH THE ELECTED

What was decided with regard to the Intruder and the King of Kaduthuruthy was put into effect. I wrote to almost all the obedient churches asking them to come immediately to Kaduthuruthy for a most serious matter, without explicating what was it. The Intruder assembled his principal adherents, among whom was *Cassanar Ittithomman*. He made the two envoys to propose the message and after much consultation, sent them with the response that several times I had gravely offended him, but excessively in the case of Mulanthuruthy; that I deplored *Cassanar Ittithomman*, but he had more reason to lament of Frs Alexander Kadavil, Alexander Parambil and other *cassanars*, who assisted me and consulted me, to whom alone he attributed all the evil, which I had done to him, because he knew well that I had great affection for him and desired to exalt him; that because of the said fathers and those churches hostile to him, he could not come to Kaduthuruthy, the more so because he did not trust the new king, who was against him. He asked me to go to Kottayam, with the heads of the said churches and if I was afraid of that king, he would send a minister to accompany me. He did not omit to counsel me to condescend for the great good, which could derive from it, so as to bring about the complete end of the affair. But as I did not see in him any sign of repentance and sorrow for the past offences, as I had never found truth and firmness in his promises,

words, writings and oaths, and as I feared that after my departure he would have soon become simoniac and that he would have never easily consented to elect and consecrate a successor, and as he was without letters, without virtues, scandalous, and full of defects, conscience obliged me not to do it, but rather I considered it most useful for that Christianity and for the service of God to proceed against him with the final sentence, conforming to his evils, excesses and wickedness, being already conducted three adequate processes. Moreover I understood that from the consecration of the Intruder would have followed the greatest scandal to the future archdeacons of Malabar, who easily would have attempted novelty, when they had known that this predecessor of theirs in these ways arrived at the mitre.

The twelve elected persons assembled for negotiating with the king and the heads and the princes of the kingdom, who had much sympathy for that Christianity, since all went together to the same king, who already favoured me much. With threat of death casting out a schismatic, who in the name of the Intruder made great promises, in order to impede the affair, they induced the king to issue an *ola* or sworn writing, in which he gave permission for the consecration of the elect and promised to hold the twenty-four churches of his kingdom obedient to him and never to admit the Intruder into any of them, nor to permit any of the Christians or *cassanars* his subjects to acknowledge and call him bishop. The said heads and princes of the kingdom made themselves safeguards for the observance of all these, declaring with the king himself that they would defend with their life what was promised in the said *ola*. Since there not being in the whole of Malabar another kingdom, in which there were more churches, neither in number nor in quality than in that, it was necessary to favour, aid and protect that Christianity with all the forces possible. Hence in those so miserable times, agreement was made to do something, before the Intruder ended up destroying it, he being a great impostor. Two thousand *fanams* were given to the king as a present and another thousand *fanams* were shared between the said princes, of which I contributed 500, although I was exhausted by many expenses met until that hour.

Since the duration of ten days prescribed to me by the Dutch was so limited for so serious an affair, for proroguing it until its total conclusion, I wrote again to Ryckloff and to the secretary Lucas Van Weerden, that I was ready to go to Cochin, to negotiate with them, but since at that time those places were in grave revolt, it was not possible to navigate through the rivers, without very grave risk and that I was waiting for favourable circumstances to do it with security. The pretext benefited little (although it was useful to me for three or four days). The General sent to Kaduthuruthy Fr Godfrey with a big armed boat of Paliath to accompany me and to ensure the path and wrote to the King of Kaduthuruthy, asking him not to molest or impede me.

After the arrival of the said Father, and having received the said *ola* and the letter of the king, confiding in divine providence in so restricted and tightened circumstances, I resolved to put into effect the decision already made and to give that Christianity the necessary and unique remedy of a bishop, relying on the early first period of Christianity, when the Apostles provided the new Churches with pastors, mostly nationals and less instructed in the schools of the world. I wished the elect to be consecrated on 2 February (1663), the day of the purification of the Most Holy Virgin, but the heads of the *cassanars* and the people, seeing the limited time and the importance of the matter, made greatest instance, that having obtained the *ola* late on the last day of January (1663), without any delay the consecration be made in the morning. This fervour was the most special grace of God, in the most cold, lazy and negligent people in the entire world.

I trusted (in addition to the evident cognition, which I had) in the quality of the elect, since the tightness of time did not permit me to conduct a process. In the same night I made him give me the usual oath in the presence of witnesses, in front of whom, he responded to the examination contained in the Roman Pontifical. With it I completed everything that should ordinarily precede the consecration, he, for the most part crying and requesting not to impose upon him so great a weight.

CHAPTER XXIV

CONSECRATION OF THE ELECT, SENTENCE AGAINST THE INTRUDER AND VISIT OF THE CHURCH OF MERCY AND THAT OF MUTTUCHIRA

In the morning the news was spread that on that day the elect was to be consecrated (whom I gave the title, Bishop of Megara). Although the St Thomas Christians usually did not go to the church, except on feast days, on that week day however, there was so great a concourse that it was not possible to contain so many people in that church or in any of the big churches in Malabar. Hence they occupied also windows and the choir, where I made to stand one most important *panikkar* and other principal gentiles, who earnestly insisted on participation in that function. The brief, in which His Holiness granted me permission to elect and consecrate bishops was read in the beginning. Afterwards the need for doing this was described and then began the ceremony with such great admiration from all, that among so many people, not even a single voice was heard. Two very serious Portuguese priests, formerly parish priests in the diocese of Cochin assisted the elect. The act began (although almost unexpected) with much majesty and decorum; the continuous crying and the great humility and modesty of the new Bishop caused very great devotion in all. I declared the new Bishop vicar apostolic of that archdiocese, in virtue of the briefs, which I held, and of which the patent was read in public. Afterwards all kissed his hands as a sign of obedience, as the custom in Malabar. Finally I described the extreme and obstinate malice of the intruder, and of his companion Ittithomman, and I had the sentence, that I gave against them read, declaring that they incurred the ecclesiastical censors, fulminated by the sacred canons, councils, and the apostolic constitutions against the rebels of the Holy Church, they being schismatics, heretics, and dogmatizers concerning the valid and legitimate election and consecration of bishops. I narrated their excesses and declared the punishments. In this matter I proceeded in the most

juridical manner possible, in the fabric of the three trials against them, conducted by Fr Hyacinth and myself. After reading the sentence (for greater terror) I excommunicated them with the solemnity of the Roman Pontifical, that caused extreme fear in all people, old or young, who had dared to take some of the candles, which at the end of the act they threw on the ground and rather trampled on them with anger and contempt. Some schismatics who were present for all this, calling the Intruder imbecile and unfortunate, who having lost so great good, incurred in so many evils, kissed the hand of the new prelate and subjected themselves to him, as also did all others who remained in those churches on the following two days.

It was already very late and I wanted to retire to my rooms, when the principal Christians and *cassanars* requested me to be willing to conduct a procession outside the church, because many could not have entered in the church. At the ringing of the bells and continuous thunder of firecrackers, there concurred a great number of gentiles, who desired to see the new Bishop and me. I was satisfied and a grand apparatus was made. In the square, there was a most beautiful cross, at the feet of which an altar was prepared. As soon as we arrived there, one *cassanar*, nephew of the new Bishop, called Thomas Malana, being vested as a deacon, obtained permission to say a few words to the people. After silencing the people, from a high place, with sonorous voice, he said: today the whole world is undeceived and it is clarified that His Holiness and the Bishop of Hierapolis (Sebastiani) have never procured, nor desired anything other than the good of the St Thomas Christians, without any (self) interest, because today they have granted to the St Thomas Christians a native Bishop, the first one Malabar has ever received from the time of the preaching of the faith of Christ here. He did not say anything else. But immediately a *mappila* cried out: our true prelate is Alexander Parambil, Thomas Parambil cannot be called anymore Bishop, nor Archdeacon, without incurring most serious censures. To this voice was followed a most joyful applause and then I returned to the church, leaving the new Bishop there, so that he alone might walk around, blessing the people.

Later the new Bishop and I were invited to the other church. Since it was on the same day (of consecration) there always concurred *cassanars* and the Christians of the churches, called by me, and even from very far away churches of the whole of Malabar (who immediately subjected themselves to the new prelate). Since many candidates to the priesthood came with them, I was requested instantaneously by all and by the same Alexander Parambil, to be willing to ordain them outside of time (*extra tempora*) and to give this universal consolation on so rare an occasion. Because of this we determined to go to the other church in the following morning, the *cassanars* of which I had previously reconciled, who had been in most serious disagreement, because of interest and ambition. We were accompanied there with pomp, concurrence and extraordinary festivity, I letting the whole honour be given to the Bishop of Megara, whom I made vest in pontificals and assist me in all the ceremonies of the Mass and in conferring the general Orders (but without pronouncing the forms) obliging the new priests to promise obedience in his hands, something which among those people was very useful, in order to establish him as their Bishop and prelate.

Following this, and even with much greater demonstrations than the previous day, we went to the church of the Holy Spirit in Muttuchira three miles away, accompanied by the governor of Kaduthuruthy, as well as the ruler of that place. There he maltreated a soldier of the brother of a prince, who was near there, pretending to perturb the feast. Since it was doubted that from what happened some very dangerous troubles might follow, we returned immediately after taking possession of the church. A little later things were adjusted and the brother of the said prince became a friend of the new Bishop, as well as the prince himself.

CHAPTER XXV

THE BOUNTY OF THE THEKKUBHAGAR CHRISTIANS; WHAT WAS DONE IN BENEFIT OF THE NEW PRELATE AND HIS QUALITIES

On this last day came a serious person, the head of Thekkumbhagar or the Southist community. Although these are found only in four or five places, nevertheless they are the noblest (i più nobili), but very opposed to all others, without ever being married to them. These helped very much in the matter of giving a Bishop to that Christianity. Almost all of those few people who did not follow the Intruder and the first ones, who discovering the deceit, abandoned him, belonged to them. The said chief from Thodupuzha told me several times on the same day that in God he was hoping that soon the whole of Malabar would subject itself to the new Bishop, all of them knowing that he is the legitimate Bishop, their own national and very virtuous. As far as the Christians and the churches of the Southists were concerned, he promised and obliged himself to keep them always obedient, even if all the others would abandon him, without considering the fact that he was a non-Southist. To welcome this offer, in his presence I warmly recommended him, his Christians and churches to the Bishop of Magara, who told him to acknowledge their zeal and fervour and promised to protect, help and conserve them always even with his life, much more than the others called Vadakumbhagar or Northists (the denomination of Northists and Southists is only on account of the ancient site of their places, not of the present, and is very much mutated and confused).

The rest of that day and part of the night passed in tears; I shed tears for the Christians and the *cassanars* of other churches, and all of them did the same for me. I gave the new Bishop the pontifical, which I received from the General of the Portuguese, setting in motion the necessary arrangements. Many items of the sacristy of the cathedral of Cranganore, which were saved (although many of those items were usurped with some money before the loss of Cochin for the service of that city and I

dissimulated it in order not to show interest and to place myself in jurisdictional conflict). I provided him with the habit, boat, things for the *mensa* and the kitchen and whatever was possible. Moreover, I shared some vestments and other similar things of the said cathedral with four or five parish priests, as I had already given the better things to the said prelate. I donated my own 400 *fanams* to Alexander Kadavil for translating many parts of the Roman Pontifical into Syriac, the (sacramental) forms of which were already translated by Francis Ros, the first Jesuit Archbishop of that Christianity. The said father did this with the help of some Portuguese priests and others who knew Malayalam well, he being most perfect in the said Syriac language and the unique *cassanar*, who knew how to compose well in that language.

In order to establish the government of the new prelate, I assigned him five *cassanars*, the most serious and the most virtuous of the whole of Malabar as assistants and consultors. I gave him sufficient instructions for governing, even in very difficult cases and in the contingency of death, for appointing a governor, which he swore to observe, placing the same oath and his name below the sheet in two exemplars, one for me and the other for him. Afterwards I prompted him to make two promises in writing with a solemn oath, concerning his obedience and subjection to the Holy Roman Church and with regard to the Intruder. When I proposed them to him, he gave me this response: Your Excellency has not a very good impression about me, by asking me to swear promises regarding things, to which I am obliged above all in conscience and so tightly that I would give a thousand lives, if I would have so many, before being deficient in any of these. But he was satisfied, when I told him that it was not done because he needed them, knowing very well his virtue and zeal of a good Catholic, because of which he was considered worthy of that status, but for my caution, since I should demonstrate in Rome with what conditions I proceeded to so serious an act.

He gave me his letters, as well as those of the *cassanars* and the people, for His Holiness and for the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide. He requested me most insistently to provide, as soon as possible, for the needs of that Christianity, because he

would have never accepted such a burden, without this sure hope and condition, thinking to serve in the meantime the only remedy. He requested me very much to obtain from the said Sacred Congregation two Maronites to teach Syriac in Malabar, because after the death of Fr Alexander Kadavil -already almost decrepit - there would be no one who knew the said language, proper to their rite well. He described to me his poverty and the precise necessity to be succoured from Rome with an annual remittance for exercising his office and for serving that Christianity, because from his own possessions he could not sustain expenses even for three years. Finally he recommended to me very much Fr Thomas Malana, his nephew, who was coming to Rome with me, saying that he would give obedience in his name to his Holiness the Pope Our Lord. I promised him to do what would be possible to help him regarding everything he asked me and I assured him that if I safely reached Rome, he would see the effects in the course of time. I encouraged him to work for and suffer much in the service of God and for so many souls and I gave him great hope that within a short time the whole of that Christianity would subject itself to him, because already the unique reason for following the Intruder had disappeared, he being a true and legitimate Bishop, a native of the place and of the same blood as them.

He (Bishop Alexander Parambil) received me when for the first time I entered Malabar and accommodated me for three months in his church. He fought a continuous war against the Intruder, after discovering the enormity of the schism. He always favoured the apostolic ministers and missionaries. He is a great alms-giver, most devoted to Our Lady and very much dedicated to divine worship. With his own money he built two churches and a little before asked me permission to build another one. As a simple parish priest, he had very many followers, being very sober, gentle and prudent. In the whole of Malabar there was no other *cassanar* more virtuous and esteemed. The Intruder, on the other hand, is universally branded as most vicious and it is known that his briefs are false, the consecration was invalid due to the absence of a Bishop, and that he negotiates only to sustain the imposture with deceits and the plundering of those churches.

CHAPTER XXVI

PASSAGE TO COCHIN, EFFORTS MADE WITH THE DUTCH TO REMAIN IN MALABAR AND FOR ITS BENEFIT

Finally, on 4 February (1663), a little after midnight, I embarked for Cochin, accompanied until the shore by the new Bishop and many Christians, men and women, who cried copiously, entering into the river up to the waist, to kiss my hands several times, and to hold back, if possible, the boat. I left there Fr Chrystophorus de Miranda to serve and assist the Bishop of Megara. The said father first of all had been parish priest of "Bendurte" in the diocese of Cochin, who stayed much time with Stephen Brito, Archbishop of Cranganore and had worked with me in that vineyard; because of this he could be of great help to him. The boat of Paliath always accompanied us. After refreshing ourselves in Pallippuram, as those people wined, we proceeded with the journey. But as it became night, before reaching the city, after going round the rivers for a long time, without finding any place for rest, we finally landed at the Church in "Bendurte", which made us to shed some tears, as we saw it profaned and almost destroyed. Nothing for sustenance could be seen, the whole of that night passed without closing our eyes, although for some weeks, because of the great afflictions of my soul and the engagement of my mind, I could not take even an hour for sleep. In the morning (5 February 1663) we arrived in Cochin, a spectacle of misery, compassion and horror.

Frs Marcel and Godfrey waited for me on the shore; with them and with all my people I went to my ordinary house, completely broken, smashed by the batteries. Ryckloff immediately sent somebody to visit me and gave me one of the canaries and some of the best fishes. He invited me to his *mensa* on the seventh of the month (7 February 1663), which being the first of Lent, I considered it convenient to excuse myself. I was continuously visited by many captains, officials, and Catholic soldiers who were not happy about that victory, and some of them

secretly confessed and received communion. As I was going through those streets, it was heartbreaking to see those poor Christians of the country shedding many tears and kneeling down for a blessing.

On the following day I met with General Ryckloff, who was accompanied by two principal Dutch ministers. And in their presence and of the fathers my companions, I tried again with most efficacious reasons to obtain consent to remain in Malabar, in spite of the fact that I had already given them a Bishop. Among other things, which I proposed for this purpose, I said: I had no interest, inclining me to remain in those regions, among barbarous people, inside the forests and in the middle of infinite risks and miseries, when the love of my motherland and other human motives should have rather made me desire any good occasion to go to Europe, but nevertheless I had greatest desire to remain, only for the salvation of those souls, who being without a pastor, among so many infidels, and subjected to them, ran the danger of losing the true faith in Christ. Therefore, if he absolutely obliged me to depart, I would unload my conscience onto that of his own. I presented to him the order of the States and of the Dutch Company and added: such an order could not be understood to be applicable to Malabar, where in more than 80 churches there were 300 native priests of the Chaldean rite, something not seen in other parts of the world. The priests only knew the Malayalam language, and those princes and Christians would have never permitted them to be thrown out of their territories. To this Ryckloff responded that I spoke with good basis and he also held the same view, that they would not become part of the said States. I responded then that if the order could not be intended for *cassanars*, then it should be less for me, because neither could they govern themselves, nor could they consecrate other priests when the present ones died, without a true and legitimate Bishop. He responded that about this he had written to Holland, but in the meantime it was necessary to execute the order against the Latin ecclesiastics. I replied again that I was not the Bishop of Cochin, I governed only Malabar, and the Dutch had jurisdiction only over the territories confiscated from the Portuguese and therefore he might concede the favour of assigning the frontiers (*terminus*), to which extended such order prohibiting

the Latin ecclesiastics and I would withdraw to any place, one or two days' journey outside of them. To this the General (after consulting the other two) said that they extended from Cape Comorin until the Cape of "Rama", seven leagues near Goa and throughout the places, where their kings, friends and confederates, who in the future would be all the Malabar princes, governed. Finally, seeing that I so pressurized him that he could not respond, he added: I might not strive for an advantage, because he had no remedy, and that everything was satisfactorily explained to Fr Godfrey, when from the beginning he proposed all the ways possible, so that I might remain in Malabar.

Despairing at these words, pronounced already with some tedium, in order to be able to obtain the intent, I replied that by presenting the reasons, I had satisfied the obligation of my conscience and that, seeing no other effective means to obtain from his courtesy the first favour, at least would he be pleased to grant me two other favours, which had little or no difficulty. The first was to write to the State-Lords for the benefit of that Christianity; the second was to be willing to take under his protection the new Bishop, appointed by me as vicar apostolic to that Church and the *cassanars* of the villages, as well as opposing the Intruder (I declared who he was, and described his impostures and worst qualities). The General responded: that with regard to writing to Holland in compliance with what I desired, he had already done so at the instance of Fr Godfrey, and that he would do it again; that he took under the protection of the Dutch army the new Bishop, as far as it might not prejudice the Company (the Dutch East India Company) and he would oppose the Intruder, whom he well knew as the greatest coward, called by his soldiers an arch-devil and not an archdeacon and that he would compell the King of Kottayam, the unique supporter of the Intruder, to expel him from that kingdom and with that he would be completely lost, assuring me that he would do it with much efficacy and that in a short period of time I would know some particulars about it with much satisfaction through the religious of St Francis, If I would order them to write to me what was going on there. He repeated the very same thing during the following eight days I stayed in Cochin. And he demonstrated it effectively never admitting the Intruder to an

audience, who came there to procure it with temerarious importunity, nor did the King of Kottayam grant it, although he tried to obtain it with much warmth. Furthermore he ordered me to make the new Bishop come to Cochin in order to be acquainted with him, to encourage him and to recommend him to the Commentator, who should have remained at the government of that city.

Many *cassanars* and *mappilas* of Malabar had accompanied me to the house of the General and had at the time of the discussion, which took place at the loggia, remained in the hall. I requested Ryckloff if he would be willing to declare in their presence, that he would take under the protection of the Dutch army the new Bishop and that Christianity, in so far as it did not prejudice the Company. He did it with much expression of affection, standing in the presence of all, who remained indescribably animated and consoled by it and rendered him most affectionate thanks.

CHAPTER XXVII

ARRIVAL OF THE NEW BISHOP IN COCHIN, WHAT WAS DONE WITH THE DUTCH AND WITH HIM, AND THE HOUSE OF THE FATHERS MINORS IN THAT CITY

When the *cassanars* and the Christians of Kaduthuruthy knew that I called the Bishop of Megara to Cochin, they were very much afraid, and if I had not repeatedly sent messengers and had not ensured them with my word, they would have never permitted him to go there. So he came very late with some presents for the General (which very much pleased him) and brought with him a great entourage of *cassanars* and illustrious Christians. Since at that time Ryckloff was very much occupied with the grave differences and continuous consultations with the Samorin, he wanted the Bishop of Megara to remain in Cochin for a few days, to negotiate with him more conveniently and to quiet the King of Kottayam, who was offended, unless the Intruder was admitted. But as I had to embark, I did not want him to remain in the city, if I was not there. Hence on the following day, banqueted by Ryckloff, I told him that the Bishop of Megara had with him many people, without any provision, nor was the food here consumable during Lent; and that as far as it was possible from his generosity and courtesy, the Bishop asked in the petition or memorial - which translated into Dutch I myself presented to him - permission to return to Kaduthuruthy. He replied that he felt his departure very hasty, but he would never admit the Archdeacon, and after reading the memorial, he declared that he would take the Bishop of Megara and all his Christians under the protection of the Dutch Company in everything that would not be of prejudice to it. I gave him a note with the name of the same Bishop and those of the obedient churches, which he asked me for, in order to better distinguish them from others and to remember them. He sent two principal ministers, in company of Frs Marcel and Godfrey, to bid farewell to the Bishop and on their part to repeat to him the same promise.

I gain emboldened the Bishop of Megara, gave him almost everything in my house, and recommended him to Fr Commissary and to the religious of St Francis, who remained in that city. I granted the said Fr Commissary the privileges of Apostolic Missionary, for which he asked me, but with the rigorous and precise obligation to help, as far as possible, the said Bishop and the mission of Malabar. After loading his boats with many utensils and other items from my house, without any impediment on the part of the Dutch, he returned to Kaduthuruthy, completely satisfied, to the greatest anger and shame of the Intruder, who stayed already much time on the other side of the river, in sight of the city (Cochin), but was never permitted to enter in it. I also recommended the Bishop to the Commentator, who was to govern Cochin and to the principal preacher, who promised me to help and favour him. I took care to oblige them to it with some gifts of little value, but very much esteemed by them, as I did too, with Ryckloff himself. Lest they might cease to favour the said Bishop of Megara and observe what they promised me, with the hope of inducing Malabar in their errors, to them I severed at the root any similar hope, saying and proving widely and efficaciously that for the Christians of St Thomas the passage to their religion, which they called the "reformed religion", was impossible, because they consider that the essence and substance of Christianity consist in three things totally opposed to the articles of Luther and Calvin: adoration of images and the most holy cross, fasting, as well as prayer and celebration for the souls in purgatory - which alone sustains and maintains the *cassanars*, who are of honour to the principal houses - and consequently before retracting from some of the said tenets, they would let themselves be cut into pieces, because they consider them (as I said) the essence of Christianity.

Ryckloff, in order to quieten the native Christians of Cochin, and lest they might flee from that city because of religion, leaving it deserted, held there the Fr Commissary of Saint Francis with other four religious. He left for them a convent and promised them the necessary maintenance, but obliged them to swear to some very scrupulous articles, which they did with the counsel and opinion of some learned persons. As I came away from Malabar, they communicated them to me and after considering them well, I said

that they should not have sworn them, because some of them were scandalous and prejudicial to our holy faith and to the salvation of souls. First (third in order): they cannot receive into the religion of Rome anyone from the servants of the Company, even if the said persons are inclined to it. Second (the fourth in order): they shall not try to encourage anyone from the reformed religion to the service of the religion of Rome, either with secret or disguised teaching or through any other means that could be adopted. Third (tenth in order): they shall be obliged to give a report of all the ecclesiastics, who are found inside and in the suburbs of that city, in accordance with the information, which they might have about them. After hearing my opinion, they (the religious) immediately wanted to leave for Goa and abandon that house, but I obliged them to remain there for the good of Malabar and of the natives of that city, and promised them to write in such a way to the tribunal of the holy Inquisition of Goa, that after examining those articles, finding them incorrectly sworn, it might excuse their good faith. And after declaring the invalidity of the oath, I gave them order to persevere in the cultivation of that vineyard, operating with caution as regards the matters erroneously sworn. And so it really happened; at my intercession the Inquisitors proceeded with much clemency, which greatly obliged the said fathers to encourage with their assistance and help the Bishop of Megara and the Christianity of Malabar.

I had many times the desire to consecrate a Bishop during the time of the Portuguese so that he might assist me in so great and serious an affair, with the intention of entangling the Intruder in the middle, I myself on one side and he (native Bishop) on the other, lest he could flee from us. With a native Bishop it would also have been possible to wage a very grave war against him and certainly win over him. But I could say not even a word about this, nor could give the least sign of it. However much more happily I desired to be able to do it in so great an urgency, when the loss of Cochin blotted out any other design and threatened the definitive ruin of Malabar. It was only divine mercy too, that the Dutch did not adumbrate this, on the contrary they accepted it well and obliged themselves to protect and defend the new Bishop and that the said fathers remained in Cochin, in order to help him with the

ministers of that city, and to counsel him in more difficult and confusing cases.

End of the second book

The third book in 27 chapters describes the return-journey of Sebastiani and his companions. They departed from Cochin on 14 February 1663 and after about eleven months of stay in Goa, during which Sebastiani also strove to return to Malabar, travelling through Daman, Surat, Persia, Combrù, Congo, Bassora, Bagdad, Nineveh, Aleppo, Scanderona reached Rome on 6 May 1665.

PART THREE

IMPORTANT ROMAN DOCUMENTS
CONCERNING THE TWO
EXPEDITIONS OF JOSEPH OF ST
MARY SEBASTIANI

A) DOCUMENTA DE PRIMA SPEDITIONE IOSEPHI A SANCTA MARIA

1. Hortatorium Universis Christifidelibus pro Iosepho a S. Maria ad Partes Orientis Profecturo

Alexander Papa VII,

Universis christifidelibus, tam ecclesiasticis, etiam cuiusvis
Ordinis, Congregationis et instituti regularibus, quam laicis,
praesentes litteras inspecturis, salutem et apostolicam
benedictionem.

Cum nos dilectum filium Iosephum a S. Mariâ, Ordinis
fratrum eiusdem S. Mariae de Monte Carmelo Discalceatorum
nuncupatorum, virum pietate praeclarisque virtutibus praeditum, ad
partes Orientis cum nostris super gravissimo negotio mandatis
mittamus; idcirco vos omnes et singulos plurimum hortamur in
Domino, et per ineffabilem bonitatem Dei, qui charitas est, paterne
requirimus atque etiam enixe petimus, ut eumdem Iosephum cum
eius sociis, quando, tam in itinere ad partes praedictas, quam in
reditu ex iisdem partibus ad nos et hanc sanctam Sedem, ad loca
vestra se contulerit, pro vestra erga nos et eamdem Sedem
reverentia et devotione, ad gloriam nominis Christi Salvatoris
nostri, benigne suscipiatis, et fraternâ cum humanitate atque amore
liberaliter pertractetis, ac ipsi Iosepho eiusque sociis de omnibus,
quae eis commoda et necessaria fuerint, subveniat, illaque eis
prompte et alacriter tamquam ilares datores, quos diligit Deus,
subministretis, et ipsis omni ope, opera, consilio, ac totis denique
viribus vestris, de libero ac tuto itinere et opportunis commeatibus
cum effectu provideatis. Quae quidem si, ut speramus, feceritis,
rem certe christianis hominibus maxime dignam, nobis vero gratam
ac divinae maiestati procul dubio acceptissimam fecisse gaudebitis.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die
XIX ianuarii MDCLVI, pontificatus nostri anno I.

A) DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE FIRST EXPEDITION

1. Exhortation to All the Christian Faithful in Favour of Joseph of St Mary Setting out for the Regions of the East

Pope Alexander VII

To all the Christian faithful, the ecclesiastics including the religious of any Order, congregation and institute as well as lay people, who are going to see this letter, greeting and apostolic blessing.

As we are sending our beloved son Joseph of St Mary, of the Order of the friars of the same St Mary of Mount Carmel called Discalced (Carmelites), a man endowed with piety and splendid virtues, to the regions of the Orient with our mandates for a very grave affair, we earnestly exhort all and each one of you in the Lord, and for the ineffable goodness of God, who is love, paternally require and exceedingly request you: to benignly sustain the same Joseph together with his companions, when he comes to your places, both on his journey to the aforementioned regions, and on his return from those same regions to us and to this Holy See, on account of your reverence and devotion towards us and to the same See, for the glory of the name of Christ our Saviour; to treat them benevolently with fraternal kindness and charity; to assist the same Joseph and his companions in all things which will be convenient and necessary to them; to give them all those things promptly and eagerly as generous donors, who love God; to effectively provide all wealth, effort and counsel for them, and indeed with all your forces, for a free and safe journey and opportune passages. If indeed, as we hope, you would do these things, certainly an act most fitting to the Christian faithful, you would be doing something pleasing to us and beyond doubt most acceptable to the divine majesty.

Given in Rome at St Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 19 January 1656, the first year of our pontificate.

2. ALEXANDER VII MITTIT IOSEPHUM A S. MARIA AD PROVINCIAM ANGAMALENSEM CUM DIVERSIS FACULTATIBUS

Dilecto filio Iosepho a S. Maria Ordinis fratrum eiusdem S. Mariae de Monte Carmelo Discalceatorum nuncupatorum,
Alexander Papa VII.

Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum, sicut non sine gravi animi nostri molestia ad aures nostras pervenit, dilectus filius Thomas archidiaconus ecclesiae Angamalensis, seu Serrae, unâ cum centum et quinquaginta millibus seu alio veriori numero christianorum illarum partium ab obedientia venerabilis fratris archiepiscopi Angamalensis recesserit, ac dignitatem episcopalem absque huius Sanctae Sedis auctoritate sibi arrogaverit, muniaque pastoralia inter eosdem chnistanos illegitime invalideque exercere praesumpserit et forsitan praesumat; cumque per excessus huiusmodi et illorum occasione status eiusdem ecclesiae Angamalensis cum maximo christifidelium dictarum partium animarum periculo valde perturbatus existat: nos, pro commissa nobis ab aeterno Pastore omnium ecclesiarum solitudine universique gregis dominici cura, praedictorum excessum informationem capi, ac perturbationes huiusmodi componi et sedari, tranquillitatemque eidem ecclesiae restitui, necnon memoratum Thomam eiusque sequaces ad eiusdem archiepiscopi obedientiam reduci cupientes, ac de tuâ fide, prudentia, rerum agendarum peritiâ, dexteritate et catholicae religionis zelo plurimum in Domino confisi, de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. cardinalium negotio propagandae fidei praepositorum consilio, tibi per praesentes committimus et mandamus, quatenus te una cum duobus vel tribus sociis tibi placitis et gratis ad partes supradictas conferas, ac super omnibus et singulis praemissis veras facti informationes exactamque instructionem sumas et capias, ac processum seu processus desuper fabrices et conficias. Dantes tibi quamcumque necessariam et opportunam facultatem cum eodem Thoma, eiusque sequacibus

2. Pope Alexander VII Sends Joseph of St Mary to the Province of Angamaly with Various Faculties

Pope Alexander VII

To his beloved son Joseph of St Mary of the Order of the friars of the same St Mary of Mount Carmel called Discalced (Carmelites)

Beloved son, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Whereas, as not without grave disquiet to our spirit has come to our ears, that our beloved son Thomas, Archdeacon of the Church of Angamaly or Malabar, together with 150,000 or another more exact number of Christians of those regions, withdrew from obedience to our venerable brother the Archbishop of Angamaly, and arrogated to himself the episcopal dignity without the authorization of this Holy See, and presumed and perhaps is now presuming illicitly and invalidly to exercise pastoral functions among the same Christians; and whereas on account these sort of excesses and their consequence the state of the same Church of Angamaly is dangerously perturbed by the gravest danger to the souls of the Christian faithful of the above mentioned regions, we, in virtue of the solicitude entrusted to us by the eternal Pastor for all the Churches and given our care of the Lord's entire flock, having taken information regarding the said excesses and desiring that these disturbances be resolved and quelled and that tranquillity be restored to the same Church and that the aforementioned Thomas and his followers be led back to the obedience of the same Archbishop, and being greatly confident in the Lord of your faith, prudence, expertise in handling affairs, skill and zeal for the Catholic religion, upon the advice of our venerable brothers the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church charged with the propagation of the faith, by the present letter commission and order you to go to the aforementioned regions with two or three companions pleasing and agreeable to you, to obtain and gather exact news on the event and precise information on each and every matter mentioned above, and to institute and conduct one or more proceedings on the matter. We grant you moreover whatever faculty be necessary and appropriate in communicating and treating, freely and legitimately and without incurring in any kind of censure or ecclesiastical

clericis et laicis quibuslibet, libere et licite ac absque cuiusvis censurae vel poenae ecclesiasticae incursu, ubi et quando et toties quoties in Domino expedire iudicaveris, super eorum reductione ad praedicti archiepiscopi obedientiam communicandi et tractandi, ipsumque Thomam et eius sequaces ad obedientiam huiusmodi, quoties opus fuerit, respective auctoritate nostrâ apostolica reducendi, et, si hoc a te humiliter petierint, impositâ eis et eorum cuilibet poenitentiâ salutari, necnon recepto ab eis iuramento quod de cetero similia non perpetrabunt, a praedictorum excessum reatu, a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et poenis per eos, et eorum quemlibet praemissorum occasione respective incursis, eadem auctoritate absolvendi et plenarie liberandi, illisque et eorum cuilibet poenas huiusmodi gratiore remittendi et condonandi, ac eos et eorum quemlibet in pristinum et eum in quo ante praedictos excessus quomodolibet erant statum restituendi et plenarie reintegrandi, ac ad gremium sanctae matris Romanae Ecclesiae dicta auctoritate recipiendi, aliaque ad id necessaria et opportuna agendi, faciendi et exequendi prout res ipsa exegerit; servatis tamen semper constitutionum apostolicarum et conciliorum generalium sacrorumque canonum dispositionibus.

Non obstantibus felicis recordationis Bonifacii Papae VIII praedecessoris nostri de unâ et concilii generalis de duabus dietis, aliisque apostolicis, ac in universalibus provincialibusque et synodalibus conciliis editis, generalibus vel specialibus, constitutonibus vel ordinationibus, necnon, quatenus opus sit, memoratae Angamalensis, et aliarum quarumvis ecclesiarum et locorum, etiam iuramento, confirmatione apostolicâ, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, statutis et consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis et litteris apostolicis, in contrarium praemissorum quomodolibet concessis, confirmatis et innovatis; quibus omnibus et singulis, illorum tenores praesentibus pro plene et sufficienter expressis ac de verbo ad verbum insertis habentes, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, ad praemissorum effectum, hac vice dumtaxat,

penalty, where, when and as often as you judge fit, regarding their return to the obedience of the said Archbishop, with the same Thomas and whomsoever of his followers, clerics and lay people, and necessary and appropriate in returning to the Archbishop's authority the same Thomas and his followers, as far as be necessary, respectively with our apostolic authority, and if they perchance petition such from you with humility, after imposing on each and every one of them a salutary penance and receiving from them an oath that they will not perpetrate the like again, the faculty of absolving them by the same authority and of fully liberating them from the crime of the aforementioned excesses, as well as from any excommunication, suspension or interdict, and any other ecclesiastical sentence, censure and penalty respectively incurred by all or by any one of them whatsoever respectively on the occasion of the aforementioned events; of remitting and graciously condoning each and any one of them any such punishment; reinstating and fully reintegrating the same in the pristine state in which they were found before any of the aforementioned excesses and in the former state of each, and of receiving them by the aforesaid authority into the bosom of their holy mother the Roman Church, and of doing, performing and carrying out whatever else may be necessary and opportune, as the issue itself shall require; always observing, however, the dispositions of the apostolic constitutions, the general councils and of the holy canons.

Notwithstanding the dispositions of our predecessor Pope Boniface VIII of happy memory concerning one assembly and that of the general council concerning two assemblies, and likewise notwithstanding other apostolic constitutions and ordinances, whether general or special, as well as those promulgated in universal, provincial and synodal councils and, as far as be necessary, any statutes of the said Church of Angamaly or of any other Churches or places, even passed under oath and confirmed by apostolic or any other authority, and also their customs, notwithstanding likewise privileges, apostolic indults and letters, granted, confirmed and renewed in any manner contrary to the aforementioned. From each and every one of these we specifically and expressly derogate, for this occasion only, for the effecting of the aforesaid, while they otherwise maintain their force for the

specialiter et expresse derogamus; ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXIV ianuarii MDCLVI, pontificatus nostri anno I.

3. Hortatorium Thomae Archidiacono Angamalensi Occasione Missionis Iosephi a S. Mariae

Dilecto filio Thomae, archidiacono ecclesiae
Angamalensis seu Serrae,
Alexander Papa VII.

Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Ad aures nostras quorumdam relatione pervenit, ecclesiam Angamalensem ingentem excessu tuo passam esse scisuram. Fatemur nos hoc nuntio vehementer esse commotos, vix autem, imo nequaquam adduci posse, ut credamus te, quem quieti unioni eiusdem ecclesiae ex incumbente tibi archidiaconatus munere tamquam archiepiscopi oculum omni studio intendere, et eiusdem archiepiscopi pastoris tui pro commisso sibi grege vigilantiam pro viribus adiuvare oportet, ita fuisse propriae salutis et existimationis immemorem, ut nedum tu ab obedientiâ illius temere recedere, sed etiam aliorum ingentem multitudinem ab eadem distrahere damnabili praesumptione fueris ausus, multoque minus fidem praebemus vocibus, quibus spargitur, te absque huius sanctae Sedis Apostolicae auctoritate dignitatem episcopalem assumpsisse, muniaque pastoralia illegitime, invalideque inter innocentes populos administrare. Quoniam vero pro componendâ supradictae ecclesiae pace dilectum filium Iosephum a S. Maria, Ordinis fratrum Discalceatorum eiusdem S. Mariae de Monte Carmelo, virum gravem, ac praeclaris virtutibus praeditum ad illas partes duximus destinandum, visum est nobis pro paternae nostrae in te charitatis affectu, ac ea quam de animae tuae salute gerimus cura, te praesentium serie in Domino hortari et sedulo monere, ut si (quod Deus avertat) verum sit quidquid de tuis excessibus nobis

future, holding the content of the same aforesaid to be fully and sufficiently expressed and inserted, word for word, by this present letter. Notwithstanding, moreover, whatsoever to the contrary.

Given in Rome at St Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 24 January 1656, the first year of our pontificate.

3. Exhortation to Thomas, Archdeacon of Angamaly on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary

Pope Alexander VII

To our beloved son Thomas, Archdeacon
of the Church of Angamaly or Malabar
Beloved son, greeting and apostolic blessing.

From the report of some it has come to our ears that the great Church of Angamaly passed into a schism owing to your excess. We confess that this news has vehemently shocked us, but hardly, indeed by no means it can be verified. We believe, that you - who are to aim with every effort, as the eye of the Archbishop in virtue of the ministry of archdeaconate incumbent upon you, at the quiet union of the same Church and are to help with all your might the vigilance of the same Archbishop, your pastor, for the sheep committed to him – have not been so regardless of the proper salvation and honour; that you have by no means temerariously withdrawn from obedience to him, nor have dared to separate a great multitude of others from the same Bishop on the basis of a perilous presumption. Much less credibility do we give to voices, which are circulating that you have also assumed the episcopal dignity without the authority of this holy Apostolic See, and are unlawfully and invalidly administering the pastoral office among innocent people. Hence, in reality, for composing the peace of the aforesaid Church we have been persuaded to send our beloved son Joseph of St Mary, of the Order of the friars of the Discalced Carmelites of the same St Mary of Mount Carmel, a great man, endowed with extraordinary virtues. Owing to the affection of our paternal charity towards you and in virtue of the care which we exercise with regard to the salvation of your soul, it seems necessary to us to exhort you seriously in the Lord by the present

relatum est, tu ad saniora consilia reventaris. Cogita, fili, nihil prodesse homini si mundum universum lucretur, animae vera suae detrimentum patiatur, neque quemquam sumere sibi honorem, nisi qui vocatur a Deo tamquam Aaron. Itaque si pravâ Satanae suggestione fortasse sublevavit te cor tuum, depone quae iniusto invalidoque titulo assumpsisse assereris, ut dignus veniâ censearis, et ad osculum pacis, ac in gremium sanctae Matris Ecclesiae, omnibus ad illud post excessus cum humilitate recurrentibus semper patens, recipi merearisi.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die I februarii MDCLVI, pontificatus nostri anno I.

4. Aliud Hortatorium Thomae Archidiacono Angamalensi Occasione Missionis Iosphi a S. Maria

Dilecto filio Thomae, archidiacono ecclesiae
Angamalensis seu Serrae,
Alexander Papa VII.

Dilekte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Indigna sunt prorsus, quae ullam sibi fidem vindicent, et authoritatem, quae hucusque de te dilecte fili attulit satis ne constans fama decernere non possumus. Nam quid in Sacerdotium, quid in ipsam Ecclesiam, quam tu pro tua virili ab omni labore, ac noxa integrum praestare debes, turpius admitti unquam potest, quam Christi tunicam, ipsiusque quodammodo corpus misere in partes, factionesque distrahere, nulla Archiepiscopalis dignitatis, nulla sacrorum verecundiae in Pastorem plebem concire, omniumque Ordinum discriminem contempto insanio prorsus scelere populum imbuere. Quae ut horremus referre, refugitque animus cogitare, ita de te adduci non possumus, ut credamus. Gravissima sunt, quae Deus minatur iis, per quos scandalum venit, quid iis porro faciet, qui Episcopos, hoc est christos suos tangere, atque oves, pro quibus nec Filio suo pepercit, seducere non verentur. Debent certe tantorum criminum

letter and to advise you sedulously, so that if (God forbid) whatever has been related to us about your excesses is true, you may return to better counsels. Think, son, nothing profits a man, if he gains the whole world, but forfeits his soul; no one assumes this honour, unless called by God like Aaron. Therefore by the distorted suggestion of Satan, perhaps if your heart has assuaged you, depose what you have claimed to assume by an unjust and invalid title, so that you may be considered worthy of grace, and deign to receive the kiss of peace, and be received into the womb of holy mother Church, always open to all those who recur to it with humility after their excesses.

Given in Rome at St Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 1 February 1656, the first year of our pontificate.

4. Another Exhortation to Thomas, Archdeacon of Angamaly, on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary

Pope Alexander VII

To our beloved son Thomas, Archdeacon of the Church of
Angamaly or Malabar

Beloved son, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Those things are most unworthy, which do not deserve any credibility, and we cannot discern the authenticity, beloved son, of what a sufficient and constant report refers concerning you. For what can ever be more treacherous than to give entrance to the Priesthood or to that same Church which you are under obligation to keep with all your strength intact from every stain and harm, than miserably to divide into parts and factions the tunic of Christ and, in a certain way, his body, to incite the people against their Pastor with no regard for the archiepiscopal dignity or for things sacred, and holding in disregard the distinction between all Orders and so to infect the people with a most insane crime. These things which we are horrified to report, and which the mind shrinks from dwelling upon, we cannot so attribute to you as that we might believe them of you. God threatens with the gravest things those through whom scandal arises. What will he then not do to those

rei si non ipsa facinoris, at saltem paenarum, suppliciorumque, quae illos manent, magnitudine deterreri, omnes enim omnium cruciatus sustineat, necesse est, qui simplicem, ignaramque turbam in hanc licentiam impulerit, et Ecclesiam, cuius unum debet esse corpus, una anima, ambitu, elatus, arrogantiaque disciderit.

2. Nos sane, quos tua et istarum salus quammaxime sollicitos, et anxios habet, minime conquiescere patiuntur hi Nuncii, quos tu summo erga Archiepiscopum tuum obsequio, observantiaque redargues, nec feres tuo nomine hanc maculam diutius insidere. Etsi enim in repellenda injuria lentiores esse debeamus, in re tamen tanta, salva pietate, cessare non licet. Te itaque in Christi visceribus, in nomine ipsius oramus, obtestamurque, ut Archiepiscopo obedientiam, Ecclesiae unitatem praestes meliora vero de te Nobis, ac laetiora in posterum studeas renunciari.

3. Haec eadem nostro nomine te rogabit dilectus filius Religiosus Vir Frater Iosephus a S. Maria Discalceatus, quem et vitae instituto, et morum integritate, et virtute tibi carissimum fore credidimus. Hoc animo enim, et voluntate isthuc usque venit, ut nihil unquam, licet arduum, ac difficile recusaturus sit, quod tuae, et istorum populorum saluti opportunum videatur. Tibi Apostolicam benedictionem paterne, amanterque elargimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die 18 Februarii 1656, Pontificatus Nostri Anno I.

who do not shrink from laying hands on the Bishops, that is his anointed ones, and leading astray the sheep for whom he did not spare even his Son? Those guilty of such great crimes should certainly be deterred, if not by the enormity of the outrage, at least by the punishments and torments which await them, for it is necessary that he must bear the suffering of all, he who has driven a simple and unknowing multitude to this licentiousness and by ambition, presumption and arrogance has torn asunder the Church, which must be one in heart and mind.

2. Indeed this news, that you would disprove by showing great reverence and respect for your Archbishop and not suffering this stain upon your name to persist any longer, in no way sets our minds at rest, we who are solicitous and anxious in the greatest degree for your salvation and that of the people. Although we should be slow in fending off injury, in such a grave matter it is not lawful to desist, with all due regard for kindness. Therefore we pray and implore you from the innermost of Christ and in his name that in the future you give obedience to the Archbishop and respect the unity of the Church and strive to let news reach us of better and happier things concerning you.

3. These same things our beloved son, the religious man Friar Joseph of St Mary, Discalced Carmelite, will ask of you in our name, a man who, as we believe, by his manner of life and integrity of morals and virtue, will be very dear to you. For, with this intention and to this purpose he is coming hither, so that he will never shrink from anything, however arduous or difficult, that appears to be of advantage for your salvation and that of those peoples. We grant you our apostolic blessing with paternal affection.

Given in Rome at St Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 18 February 1656, the first year of our Pontificate.

5. Hortatorium Christianis, Qui ab Obedientia Archiepiscopi Angamalensis Recesserunt Occasione Missionis Iosephi a Sancta Maria

Universis christifidelibus, qui una cum Thoma archidiacono ecclesiae Angmalensis seu Serrae, ad obedientia venerabilis fratris archiepiscopi Angamalensis recessisse asseruntur

Alexander Papa VII,

Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Percrebuit vos, Thomae archidiaconi ecclesiae Angamalensis seu Serrae temeritatem secutos, a venerabilis fratris archiepiscopi Angamalensis pastoris vestri obedientia recessisse. Explicare vobis non possumus, quanto fama haec nos affecit moerore, concepto potissimum ex consideratione discriminis in quo versatur salus animarum vestrarum, cum, extra caulam Domini balantes, Satanae, qui circuit quaerens quem devoret, continenter expositi sitis insidiis. Et quamvis nobis certo persuademus aliena potius seductione et inconsultâ levitate, quam deliberato consilio vos eo erroris esse prolapsos, proinde speremus in Domino fore ut, quod a Patre luminum assiduis precibus flagitamus, discussis caelestis gratiae radio mentium vestrarum tenebris, in viam iustitiae, a qua misere aberratis, et ad pristinam eiusdem archiepiscopi obedientiam ultro revertamini; attamen, pro commissa nobis ab aeterno Pastore vestrum et omnium fidelium cura, vos harum serie sedulo monendos, et per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri obtestandos, vobisque apostolicâ auctoritate praecipiendum duximus, ut, relicto praefato Thoma, qui, arrogata sibi, absque huius Sanctae Sedis auctoritate, episcopali dignitate, partes pseudopastoris, ne dicamus lupi rapacis, inter vos agere perhibetur, ad verum et legitimum animarum vestrarum patrem et pastorem remoratum, videlicet archiepiscopum, sine cunctatione redeatis, ne praeeuntem caecum diutius inconsiderate sequentes contingat (quod absit) in foveam aeternae damnationis unâ cum duce ferri praecipites. Quoniam vero dilectus filius Iosephus a S. Maria

5. Exhortation to the Christian Faithful Who Withdrew from Obedience to the Archbishop of Angamaly on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary

Pope Alexander VII

To all the Christian faithful, who together with Thomas,
Archdeacon of the Church of Angamaly or Malabar,
are said to have withdrawn from obedience
to venerable brother the Archbishop of Angamaly
Beloved sons, greeting and apostolic blessing.

The number of you who, following the temerity of Thomas, the Archdeacon of the Church of Angamaly or Malabar, withdrew from obedience to our venerable brother the Archbishop of Angamaly your pastor, has become prevalent. We cannot explain to you how much this rumour (report) has afflicted us with grief, especially out of consideration of the danger through which is passing the salvation of your souls, since you, bleating outside the sheepfold of the Lord, are continuously exposed to the insinuations of Satan, who prowls around, seeking whom to devour. However, we are certainly convinced that with deliberate counsel rather than with alien seduction and inconsiderate levity, you who were so lapsed into errors, as we hope in the Lord - this we entreat with assiduous prayers from the Father of lights – that, after shattering the darkness of your minds with the ray of celestial grace, you would return again to the way of justice, from which you miserably went astray, and to the pristine obedience of the same Archbishop. Yet in virtue of your care and of all the faithful committed to us by the eternal Pastor, now we have been persuaded to admonish you zealously over these matters, and entreat you by means of the unfathomable mercy of our God as well as command you with apostolic authority - after having abandoned the aforesaid Thomas, who arrogated to himself, without the authority of this Holy See, the apostolic dignity, and is asserted to act the role of a pseudo-pastor, we do not say, of a rapacious wolf – to return without delay to the aforementioned true and legitimate father and pastor of your souls, namely to the Archbishop, so that no longer following inconsiderately the leading blind you may happen to fall into the

Ordini fratrum Discalceatorum eiusdem S. Mariae de Monte Carmelo, qui vobis has reddet, eo a nobis mittitur, ut statum praedictae ecclesiae Angamalensis discessione vestra turbatum componat; vobis mandamus, ut eum tamquam nostrum et Sedis apostolicae delegatum reverenter suscipiatis, eiusque salubribus monitis humiliter parere, ac ea quae vobis in executionem mandatorum iniuxerit, veluti obedientiae filii, prompte adimplere procuretis.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XIX februarii MDCLVI, pontificatus nostri anno I.

6. Hortatorium Clero et Populo Angamalensi, Qui Archiepiscopo Adhaeserunt, Occasione Missionis Iosephi a Sancta Maria

Dilectis filiis clero et populo civitatis, dioecesis
et provinciae Angamalensis,

Alexander Papa VII.

Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

In gravissimo dolore, quo animum nostrum affecit relata nobis discessio Thomae archidiaconi ecclesiae Angamalensis seu Serrae ac ingentis aliorum numeri a venerabilis fratri archiepiscopi Angamalensis obedientia, grande solatium accepimus intelligentes vos, eiusdem Thomae temeritatem et ceterorum levitatem aspernatos, praedicto archiepiscopo patri vestro firmiter adhaesisse et adhaerere. Qua in re etsi quod veros christifideles et obedientiae filios decebat egeritis, summam tamen laudem meretur vestra in tam perniciosi exempli obiectu fides et constantia, plurimumque divinae bonitati debetis quae vobis eam mentem dedit, et per abundantiam gratiae suae vos propinquâ contagione servavit incolumes. Porro cum pro componendo dissidio hiusmodi dilectum filium Iosephum a S. Maria Ordinis fratrum Discalceatorum eiusdem S. Mariae de Monte Carmelo, virum praeclaris virtutibus ornatum, ad illas partes mittere statuerimus,

pit (God forbid) of eternal damnation together with your leader. Therefore, beloved son Joseph of St Mary of the Order of the Discalced Friars of the same St Mary of Mount Carmel, who delivers this letter to you, is sent to you by us to compose the state of the said Church of Angamaly, perturbed by your separation. We order you to receive him reverently as our delegate and that of the Apostolic See, and to take care to humbly obey his salubrious admonitions as well as to promptly fulfil, as obedient sons, those things which he will impose upon you in the execution of his mandates.

Given in Rome at Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 19 February 1656, the first year of our pontificate.

6. Exhortation to the Clergy and People Who Adhered to the Archbishop of Angamaly on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary

Pope Alexander VII

To the beloved sons clergy and people of the city,
diocese and province of Angamaly,
Beloved sons, greeting and apostolic blessing.

In the very grave grief, which afflicted our mind, as the separation of Thomas, the Archdeacon of Angamaly or Malabar and a great number of others from obedience of venerable brother, the Archbishop of Angamaly was reported to us, we have received great consolation on learning that you, after rejecting the temerity and levity of others, firmly adhered and are still adhering to the aforesaid Archbishop your father. In this matter you did as was fitting of true Christian faithful and sons of obedience, your faith and constancy in the context of such a pernicious example deserve the greatest praise, and you owe very much to the divine goodness, which gave you that mind and preserved you from the neighbouring contagion through the abundance of its grace. Further, for composing the division of this kind, when we decided to send to those parts beloved son Joseph of St Mary from the Order of the Discalced Friars of the same St Mary of Mount Carmel, a man adorned with exceptional virtues, we wished to

conceptam ex virtute vestra laetitiam ea occasione harum serie testari voluimus, ac pro pastorali nostra sollicitudine vos paterne in Domino hortari, ut in laudabili vestra firmitate, ac in eiusdem archiepiscopi pastoris vestri obedientia, qua Deo gratior est omni victima, ut facitis, animose perseveretis, eosdemque archiepiscopum et Iosephum obsequiis et officiis vestris in sarcienda Ecclesiae praedicta scissura et procuranda fratrum vestrorum a via iustitiae aberrantium reductione coadiuvare studeatis, inde aeternum a Deo praemium, a nobis vero et hac sancta Sede Apostolica uberem gratiam consecuturi.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XIX februarii MDCLVI, pontificatus nostri anno I.

7. Hortatorium Archiepiscopo Angamalensi Occasione Missionis Iosephi a Sancta Maria

Venerabili fratri archiepiscopo Angamalensi,

Alexander Papa VII.

Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Relatum est nobis dilectum filium Thomam archidiaconum istius ecclesiae Angamalensis, nescitur quo spiritu ductum, una cum ingenti christianorum numero ab obedientia tuâ recessisse, et, quod execrabilius est, dignitatem episcopalem sibi temere arrogasse. Perculit hic nuntius vehementer animum nostrum et gravi molestiâ affecit. Quomodo enim non acriter commoveat paterna viscera tot animarum unius hominis ambitione misere seductarum iactura, et florentis isthic per Dei gratiam christianitatis perturbatio. Quoniam vero eiusmodi schismata temporis accessione vires acquirere consueverunt, ne et istud morâ invalescat, celeri remedio, pro eâ quam universis ecclesiis debemus sollicitudinc, duximus providendum. Quamobrem mittimus eo cum nostris eâ super re mandatis dilectum filium Iosephum a S. Mariae de Monte Carmelo, virum spectatae fidei et integritatis, praeclarisque animi dotibus et

testify to you our joy, produced by your virtue and on account of our pastoral care to paternally exhort you to eagerly persevere, as you are doing, in your laudable firmness and in obedience to the same Archbishop your pastor, which is more pleasing to God than any sacrifice, and endeavour to help the same Archbishop and Joseph with your compliances and acts for revamping the said division of the Church and for procuring the reduction of your brethren, who departed from the way of justice, thence you will obtain the eternal reward from God and abundant gratitude from us and from this Holy See.

Given in Rome at St Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 19 February 1656, the first year of our pontificate.

7. Exhortation to the Archbishop of Angamaly on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary

Pope Alexander VII

To venerable brother Archbishop of Angamaly,
Venerable brother, greeting and apostolic blessing.

It has been related to us that the beloved son Thomas, the Archdeacon of that Church of Angamaly, led by what spirit is unknown, together with a great number of Christians receded from your obedience, and what is more execrable is that, he temerariously arrogated to himself the episcopal dignity. This news has vehemently upset our mind and afflicted it with grave vexation. For, how does the damage of so many souls miserably seduced by the ambition of one man and the disturbance of the Christianity flourishing there by the grace of God, not painfully upset one with a paternal heart. Indeed, since such schisms used to acquire vigour with the passage of time, lest the division there grow strong because of delay, we are led to provide a quick remedy, in virtue of the solicitude which we owe to all the Churches. Therefore we are sending there with our mandates on this matter our beloved son Joseph of St Mary of the Discalced Friars of the same St Mary of Mount Carmel, a man of excellent faith and integrity, with outstanding virtues of mind and merits of virtuous graces, whom, we are confident that you will benevolently

virtutum meritis decorum, quem confidimus a te pro tuâ erga nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem observantiâ benevole excepturum. In ceterum fraternitatem tuam in Domino monemus et serio hortamur, ut, memor mansuetudinis Illius qui animam suam posuit pro ovibus suis, eas, quas a Deo curae tuae commissas zizaniorum sator diabolus abduxit, omni studio ad ovile Christi reducere coneris, et ad propria pascua redeuntes benigne suscipias, illisque ad cor reversis debitum per inobedientiam contractum paternâ charitate remitas. Ita et boni pastoris, qui amissam ovem quaerere suppositisque humeris ad caulam referre non designatur, et misericordis patris, qui filium poenitentem obviis ulnis in pristinum amoris sinum recepit, partes implebis.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XIX februarii MDCLVI, pontificatus nostri anno I.

8. Hortatorium Capitulo Ecclesiae Cacinensis Occasione Missionis Iosephi a Sancta Maria

Dilectis filiis vicario capitulari ecclesiae Cacinensis illius Sede
episcopali vacante legitime deputato, ac capitulo
et canonicis eiusdem ecclesiae Cacinensis,
Alexander Papa VII.

Dilecti fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum, pro componendis ecclesiae Angamalensis Thomae archidiaconi eiusdem ecclesiae seu Serrae opera, ut accepimus, turbata, dissidii, dilectum filium Iosephum a S. Maria fratrem Discalceatum Ordinis eiusdem S. Mariae de Monte Carmelo, virum virtutibus ac optimis qualitatibus praeditum, ad illas partes destinare decreverimus: hinc est quod nos dilectionem vestram praesentium tenore in Domino censuimus adhortandum, ut, pro nostra et Sedis Apostolicae reverentiâ, praedictum Iosephum ad vos divertentem benigne excipiatis, illique quodcumque opportunum auxilium et favorem praebatis, et pro viribus assistatis, ut ipse consilio et ope vestrâ adiutus memoratae

receive on account of your respect for us and for this Holy See. Moreover we admonish and seriously exhort your Fraternity in the Lord, remembering the kindness of he who laid down his life for the sheep, to endeavour with every studiousness to lead back to the sheepfold those committed to your care by God, whom the devil, the sower of weeds led astray and benignly receive those returning to the proper pastures and remit the repented with paternal charity the debt incurred through disobedience. Therefore you accomplish the roles of a good shepherd who does not refuse to seek the lost sheep and bring it to the sheepfold laying it on the shoulders, and of the merciful father who receives the penitent son with affable arms into the pristine bosom of love.

Given in Rome at St Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 19 February 1656, the first year of our pontificate.

8. Exhortation to the Chapter of the Church of Cochin on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary

Pope Alexander VII

To the beloved son the Vicar capitulary of the Church of Cochin, lawfully deputed to its vacant episcopal see, and to the chapter and canons of the same Church of Cochin
Beloved sons, greeting and apostolic blessing.

As we have resolved to send to those parts our beloved son Joseph of St Mary - a Discalced Friar of the Order of the same St Mary of Mount Carmel, a man endowed with virtues and best qualities - to compose the division of the Church of Angamaly, which, as we have learned, was perturbed by the work of the Archdeacon Thomas of the same Church or of Malabar, by the tenor of the present letter this is what we have decided in the Lord that we must advise you. In virtue of your respect for us and for this Apostolic See benignly receive the aforesaid Joseph coming to you, offer him every opportune assistance and favour and help him with men, so that, assisted by your counsel and support, he may be in a condition to reinstate peace and concord in the said Church of Angamaly in the execution of our mandates for the praise of almighty God and the salvation of the flock of the Lord, and to

ecclesiae Angamalensis pacem et concordiam in executionem mandatorum nostrorum ad omnipotentis Dei laudem et dominici gregis salutem restituere, ac christifideles, aliena seductione et inconsulta levitate a venerabili fratre archiepiscopo Angamalensi eorum pastore distractos, ad eiusdem archiepiscopi obedientiam reducere Domino cooperante valeat. Implebitis ea in re partes verorum Ecclesiae catholicae filiorum, nobisque gratissimum erit quidquid benevolentiae eidem Iosepho impendetis.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XIX februarii MDCLVI, pontificatus nostri anno I.

reduce, God helping, the Christian faithful separated by alien seduction and inordinate levity from our venerable brother the Archbishop of Angamaly to the obedience of the same Archbishop. Assume in this matter the roles of the true sons of the Catholic Church, and whatever benevolence you are going to do to the same Joseph will be most pleasing to us.

Given in Rome at St Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 19 February 1656, the first year of our pontificate.

B) DOCUMENTA DE SECUNDA SPEDITIONE IOSEPHI A S. MARIA

9. Iosephum a S. Maria, Episcopum Hieropolitanum, Rursus Mittit in Serra Malabarium Commissarium et Administratorem Ecclesiae Angamalensis cum Facultatibus Amplis

Ven. fratri Iosepho a Sancta Maria Episcopo Hieropolitano,
Alexander Papa VII.

Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Iniuncti nobis divinitus sacrosancti apostolatus officii ratio postulat, ut gregem curae nostrae, ab aeterno Pastore creditum, salubriter, quantum divina largitur bonitas, pascere, et si quas oves antiqui seductoris versutiâ per devia et abrupta fieri cognoscimus, illas in viam mandatorum Domini reducere, omniumque Ecclesiarum, quarum humilitati nostrae ab illo, qui caritas est et Deus pacis, commissa est sollicitudo, etpiarum Congregationum statui, quieti et felici directioni consulere iugiter studeamus, prout prudenti deliberatione praevia conspicimus in Domino animarum saluti expedire.

§ 1. Cum itaque in pluribus Congregationibus particularibus nonnullorum venn. fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium negotio Propagandae Fidei praepositorum, a nobis specialiter deputatis, fuerit diligenter consideratus praesens status religionis catholicae in ea provincia, quam vocat Serram Malabarium seu Sancti Thomae in India Orientali, matureque in eisdem extiterit perpensum, quod remedia hactenus, non sine maximis incommodis et dispendio a nobis adhibita ad tollendum schisma seu divisionem inibi exortum seu exortam, illud seu illam prorsus evellere, Thomamque de Campo Archidiaconum Ecclesiae Angamalen. seu Serrae eiusdem schismatis seu divisionis ac perniciosi dogmatis

B) DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE SECOND EXPEDITION OF JOSEPH OF ST MARY

9. Joseph of St Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis, Is Again Sent as Commissioner or Administrator of the Church of Angamaly with Ample Faculties

Pope Alexander VII,

To venerable brother Joseph of St. Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis,
Venerable brother, greeting and apostolic blessing.

The reason for the sacrosanct apostolate divinely imposed upon us postulates that we continuously endeavour to pasture salubriously, as much as the divine goodness concedes, the flock committed to our care by the eternal Pastor, to reduce them to the way of the commandments of the Lord, if we learn that those sheep have been deviated and separated by the cunningness of the ancient tempter, and to determine the quiet and happy direction of all the Churches - whose care is committed to our humility by him, who is charity and the God of peace - and the status of the pious congregations, according as, what we perceive in the Lord to be expedient for the salvation of souls after previous prudent deliberation.

§ 1. Thus in many particular congregations of some of our venerable brothers cardinals of the holy Roman Church, specially deputed by us from those appointed for the affairs of Propganda Fide, the present status of Catholic religion in the province, which is called Serra of Malabar or of St Thomas in East India was diligently considered. In the aforementioned congregations it was maturely judged that the remedies hitherto undertaken by us - not without very great inconvenience and expenditure - for removing the schism or division arisen there, were unable to eradicate it utterly, to reduce Thomas Parambil, Archdeacon of the Church of

auctorem, eiusque sequaces ad saniorem mentem reducere et animas illius regionis christianorum legitimo earum pastori, ut par erat, submittere nequierint; hinc est quod nos provide praecaventes, ne res in deterius labantur, et graviora, quae hinc timeri possent, damna prospicientes, te (de cuius spectatâ fide, prudentia, integritate, rerum agendarum peritia, dexteritate, vigilantia, et catholicae religionis zelo plurimum in Domino confidimus) illuc denuo mittendum censuimus, ut coeptum laudabiliter opus, Deo iuvante, perficias, christianosque eiusdem regionis legitimo eorum capiti et pastori ven. scilicet fratri Francisco Garzia Archiepiscopo Angamalen. adiungere coneris.

§ 2. Igitur te a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti, allisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et poenis, a iure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causâ latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodatus existit, ad effectum praesentium dumtaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes et absolutum fore censentes, de memoratorum Cardinalium consilio, te Commissarium Apostolicum in tota provinciâ Serrae Malabarum seu Sancti Thomae praedictâ, ac Administratorem eiusdem provinciae, tam superstite quam defuncto praedicto Francisco Garzia Archiepiscopo, cum facultate eligendi et tecum ducendi, sive ex alma Urbe nostrâ, sive ex alio quovis loco duos vel tres Ordinis fratrum S. Mariae de Monte Carmelo discalceatorum nuncupatorum professores, in quo Ordine tu in Minoribus constitutus profosionem regularem expresse emisisti, iisque vel aliquo ex ipsis ex malâ valetudine, sive ex alio quovis casu deficientibus, vel deficiente, alias subrogandi, auctoritate apostolica, tenorè praesentium, declaramus, costituimus et deputamus. Praecipientes iisdem sociis tuis ut tam circa ea quae ad regularem observantiam pertinent, quam circa muneris et missionis tibi impositorum executionem tibi in omnibus tamquam Superiori pareant.

§ 3. Ad haec tibi, ut, munere et missione huiusmodi durantibus, nec habitum, aliudve quodcumque signum episcopalis

Angamaly or Malabar, the author of the same schism or division and pernicious dogma, and his followers to a healthier mind, as well as to subject the souls of the Christians of that region to their legitimate pastor, as was appropriate. Hence we, prudently seeking to avert further deterioration of the matter and providing beforehand for more grave damnations, which may be afraid of, have decided to send you (in whose excellent piety, prudence, integrity, expertise of the matters in question, dexterity, vigilance and zeal for the Catholic religion we confide very much in the Lord) there again, to complete, God helping, the work laudably initiated, and to endeavour to lead the Christians of the same region to their legitimate head and pastor, namely to the venerable brother Francis Garcia, Archbishop of Angamaly.

§ 2. Therefore we, by the present letter, absolving you and deciding that you will be absolved - if you are implicated - from any kind of excommunication, suspension and prohibition, and from other ecclesiastical sentences, censures and penalties, inflicted by law itself or by man at any occasion and on whatever ground, upon the counsel of the aforementioned cardinals, with apostolic authority, by the tenor of the present letter, we declare, constitute and appoint you Apostolic Commissary in the whole province of Malabar or of St Thomas, and Administrator of the same province, whether alive or dead the aforesaid Archbishop Francis Garcia, with the faculty of choosing and taking with you either from Rome or from any other place two or three religious from the Order of the Discalced Friars of St Mary of Mount Carmel, in which Order, having been constituted in minor orders, you expressly made regular profession, and as they or any one of them are deficient because of ill health or because of any other reason, of selecting others. We order those companions of yours both with regard to what pertains to the regular observance and with regard to the execution of the ministry and mission imposed upon you, to obey you in everything as Superior.

§ 3. In addition to these, we permit you, as the office and mission of this kind are continuing, not to wear the habit, nor any other sign of episcopal dignity, nor to use in any function, the

dignitatis gestare, neque ceremoniis, quibus Episcopi uti solent, in quavis functione uti ullatenus tenearis, indulgemus. Et ut rebus eiusdem provinciae ac necessitatibus spiritualibus illius christifidelium opportunius consulere possis, tibi facultatem, auctoritate praedictâ, concedimus, ut ex regularibus cuiuslibet Ordinis, qui in India degunt si quos agnoveris operi tibi iniuncto proficuos, eos adhibere atque illuc advocare et ibidem collocare possis, ita ut a propriis superioribus directe vel indirecte nequeant impediri. Ac tibi auctoritatem impartimur, ut quoslibet impedientes et contradictores canonicis remediis compescere et cohibere; eademque ratione, si quos compereris aut agnoveris eidem operi adversari et obsistere, eos ingressu in dictam provinciam prohibere, vel si inibi fuerint removere valeas.

§ 4. Quo vero ad ea quae ad eorumdem christianorum et rerum gerendarum directionem spectant, tibi Capitulum in Ecclesia civitatis seu oppidi Angamalen. vel alibi, si tibi magis in Domino visum fuerit expedire, ac novas dignitates cum necesariis facultatibus et praeminentiis instituendi; haereditariam successionem in Archidiaconatu praedictae Ecclesiae, quatenus visum fuerit expedire, abrogandi; praedictum Thomam de Campo a quibusvis censuris et poenis ecclesiasticis, quas ob illegitime usurpatam dignitatem et auctoritatem Archiepiscopalem, excessusque in ea exercenda commissos, ac signanter circa nullam et invalidam ordinum collationem, aliaque praestanda ad munus Archiepiscopale spectantia quomodolibet incurrit, nec non a criminibus huiusmodi, ac ipsius Thomae sequaces et adhaerentes similiter tam a crimine, quam ab omni poena et censurâ ecclesiastica, si hoc a te respective humiliter petierint, imposita eis arbitrio tuo aliqua poenitentia salutari, absolvendi, dictasque poenas eis et eorum cuilibet gratiose remittendi et condonandi, ac eos in pristinum et eum, in quo ante excessus et crimina praefata quomodolibet erant, statu restituendi, reponendi et plenarie reintegrandi, et cum nulliter et invalide ad ordines promotis super huiusmodi malâ et invalidâ promotione, ac quacumque

ceremonies which the Bishops are wont to use. And in order that you may be able to determine those matters of the same province and the spiritual needs of its Christian faithful, by the said authority we concede you the faculty to summon and call the religious of any Order residing in India to that place and appoint them, if you consider them useful for the work incumbent upon you, in such a way that they cannot be directly or indirectly impeded by their own superiors. And also we impart to you authority to repress and restrain any opponents and contraditors with canonical remedies; and for the same reason, to prohibit those persons from entering into the said province or to expel them, if they have already been there, if you find or learn that they resist and obstruct the same work.

§ 4. With regard to matters pertaining to the governance of those Christians and the management of the affairs, by the aforesaid authority and tenor we are granting you the faculty: of instituting a chapter in the Church of the city or town of Angamaly, or elsewhere, if in the Lord it is seen to be advantageous and nine dignities with pre-eminence and necessary faculties; of abrogating the hereditary succession to the Archidiaconate of the said Church, as much as it is seen to be useful; of absolving the above-said Thomas Parambil from any censors and ecclesiastical penalties, which he incurred on account of the illicit usurpation of archiepiscopal dignity and authority and on account of the excesses committed in exercising it, especially regarding the null and invalid conferring of Orders, and other ministries pertaining to the archiepiscopal office, as well as from the crimes of this kind; of absolving the followers and adherents of the same Thomas, both from the crime and from every penalty and ecclesiastical censure, if this they humbly petition from you, after imposing upon them some salutary penance at your discretion, and of graciously remitting the said penalties and condoning each and any one of them; of reinstating, replacing and reintegrating him (Thomas) and them into the former status, in which they were found before the aforesaid excesses and crimes; of dispensing those vainly and invalidly promoted to Orders from such null and invalid promotion

irregularitate per eos praemissorum occasione quomodolibet contractà, ita ut illa et iisdem praemissis non obstantibus, dummodo nullum aliud canonicum eis obstet impedimentum ipsique ad id alias idonei reperiantur, servatis servandis, clericali chactere insigniri, nec non ad quatuor minores, ac sacros subdiaconatus, diaconatus, et presbyteratus ordines promoveri, et quatenus clericalem characterem, ac minores et sacros ordines huiusmodi, vel aliquem seu aliquos ex illis valide suscepisse reperiantur, in illo seu illis respective, etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare libere et licite possint et valeant, dispensandi, eosque opportune rehabilitandi; praeterea Recollectas seu Congregationes personarum ecclesiasticarum illic existentes (reservato tamen nostro et Apostolicae Sedis beneplacito) approbandi, vel etiam de novo constituendi seu fundandi, auctoritate et tenore praedictis tribuimus facultatem.

§ 5. Insuper, ut iniunctum tibi munus maior cum animarum fructu spiritualique christifidelium praefatae provinciae consolatione et utilitate valeas exercere, tibi, conferendi ordines extra tempora ad id a iure statuta et non servatis interstitiis usque ad presbyteratum inclusive, si sacerdotum necessitas ibi fuerit; dispensandi in quibuscumque irregularitatibus, exceptis illis, quae vel ex bigamia vera, vel ex homicidio voluntario proveniunt, et in his etiam duobus casibus, si praecisa necessitas operariorum ibi fuerit, si tamen quoad homicidium voluntarium ex huiusmodi dispensatione scandalum non oriatur; dispensandi super defectu aetatis unius anni ob operariorum penuriam, ut promoveri possint ad sacerdotium, si alias idonei fuerint; dispensandi et commutandi vota simplicia in alia pia opera, et dispensatidi ex rationabili causa in votis simplicibus castitatis et religionis; absolvendi et dispensandi in quacumque simoniâ, et in reali dimissis beneficiis, et super fructibus male perceptis, iniunctâ aliquâ eleemosynâ vel poenitentia salutari arbitrio tuo, vel etiam retentis beneficiis, si fuerint parochialia, et non sint qui parochiis praefici possint; dispensandi in tertio et quarto consanguinitatis et affinitatis

as well as from any irregularity committed by them in any manner on the occasion of the aforesaid events, and of opportunely rehabilitating them in such a way that, notwithstanding the aforementioned, provided that no other canonical impediment is obstructing them and if they are found to be otherwise worthy, observing the things needing to be observed, they can be marked with the clerical character and can be promoted to the four minor orders, and to the sacred sub-diaconal, diaconal and presbyteral Orders, and that if anyone or some among them are found to have validly and licitly received a clerical character, minor orders or sacred orders, they can freely and licitly minister in that or in them respectively, even in the ministry of the altar; likewise of approving or even of newly constituting or founding the Recollects or the Congregations of ecclesiastical persons existing there (nevertheless with our approval and that of the Apostolic See).

§ 5. Moreover, in order that you may be able to exercise the office incumbent upon you for the greater good of souls, as well as for the spiritual consolation and utility of the Christians of the aforementioned province, with apostolic authority, by the present letter we grant and impart to you the faculty: of conferring Orders outside the time prescribed by law and without observing the intervals up to the presbyterate inclusive, if there will be necessity of priests; of dispensing from all irregularities, except those stemming from true bigamy or voluntary homicide, and even in these two cases, if there will be precise necessity of labourers, provided that no scandal may arise from such a dispensation with regard to voluntary homicide; of dispensing from the defect of age of one year on account of the penury of labourers, so that they can be promoted to the priesthood, if otherwise they are worthy; of dispensing from simple vows and commuting them to other pious works and of dispensing for a reasonable cause simple vows of chastity and religion; of absolving and dispensing whatsoever simony, after dismissing the benefices and, over fruits unduly received, after imposing some alms or salutary penance at your judgement, or even retaining the benefits, if they have been parochial, and are not those which could be set over the parish

simplici et mixto, et in secundo tertio et quarto mixtis, non tamen in secundo solo quoad futura matrimonia, quo vero ad praeterita etiam in secundo solo cum his qui ab haeresi vel infidelitate convertuntur ad fidem catholicam, et in praedictis casibus prolem susceptam declarandi legitimam; dispensandi super impedimento publicae honestatis iustitiae ex sponsalibus proveniente; dispensandi super impedimento criminis, neutro tamen coniugum machinante, ac restituendi ius petendi debitum amissum; dispensandi in impedimento cognationis spiritualis, praeterquam inter levantem et levatum; eâ tamen lege, ut praefatae dispensationes matrimoniales non concedantur nisi cum clausulâ, dummodo mulier rapta non fuerit, vel si rapta fuerit, in potestate raptoris non existat, et in dispensatione tenor huiusmodi facultatum inseratur cum expressione temporis ad quod tibi per praesentes conceduntur; dispensandi cum gentilibus et infidelibus plures uxores habentibus, ut post conversionem et baptismum, quam ex illis maluerint, si etiam ipsa fidelis fiat, retinere possint, nisi prima voluerit converti; conficiendi olea sacra cum sacerdotibus quos potueris habere, etsi necessitas urgeat, etiam extra diem Coenae Domini; delegandi simplicibus sacerdotibus potestatem benedicendi paramenta et alia utensilia ad sacrificium missae necessaria, ubi non intervenit unctio, et reconciliandi ecclesias pollutas aqua ab Episcopo benedicta, et in casu necessitatis etiam aqua non benedicta ab Episcopo; largiendi ter in anno indulgentiam plenariam contritis et confessis ac sacra communione refectis; absolvendi ab haeresi et apostasia a fide et a schismate quoscumque, etiam ecclesiasticos tam saeculares quam regulares, non tamen eos qui ex locis fuerint, ubi Sanctum Officium exercetur, nisi in locis missionum, in quibus impune grassantur haereses, deliquerint, nec illos qui iudicialiter abiuraverint, nisi isti nati sint ubi impune grassantur haereses, et post iudicialem abiurationem illuc reversi, in haeresim fuerint relapsi, et hos in fore conscientiae tantum; absolvendi ab omnibus casibus Sedis Apostolicae reservatis etiam in Bulla Coenae Domini contentis;

priests; of dispensing from the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity and affinity, simple or mixed, and from the second, third and fourth degrees mixed, but not from the second only with regard to future marriages, omitting also in the second alone with those who are converted from heresy or infidelity to the Catholic faith, and in the said cases also declaring the children legitimate; of dispensing from the impediment of public honesty and justice originating from betrothals; of dispensing from the impediment of crime, but neither of the couple plotting, and having accepted the right of petitioning the debit; of dispensing from the impediment of spiritual relationship, except between the raising and the raised - but the aforesaid matrimonial dispensations shall not be granted unless with a restrictive clause, provided that the woman has not been abducted, or if abducted, she is no more under the power of the abductor, and in every dispensation the tenor of this kind of faculties is inserted with the indication of the time for which they are granted to you by the present letter -; of dispensing with the gentiles and infidels having many wives, that after conversion and baptism, whom among them they wish, if she also becomes faithful, they could keep, if the first is not willing to be converted; of confecting the holy oil with the priests whom you could gather, and if necessity urges, even outside the day of *Coenea Domini*; of delegating to simple priests the power of blessing vestments and other utensils necessary for the sacrifice of the Mass, where no anointing is needed, and of reconciling defiled churches with water blessed by the Bishop, and in case of necessity even without water blessed by the Bishop; of granting thrice in a year a plenary indulgence to those who have repented, confessed and received holy communion; of absolving any persons from heresy and apostasy from the faith as well as from schism, even ecclesiastics, both secular and religious - but not those from places where the Holy Office has competence, unless they have committed crimes in mission territories, where heresies are raging without any punishment, nor those who have judicially abjured, unless they have been born in places where heresies are raging without punishment, and after judicially abjuring, upon returning there,

concedendi indulgentiam plenariam primo conversis ab haeresi, atque etiam fidelibus quibuscumque in articulo mortis saltem contritis, si confiteri non poterunt; concedendi indulgentiam plenariam in oratione quadraginta horarum, ter in anno indicenda diebus tibi benevisis, contritis et confessis ac sacrâ communione refectis, si tamen ex concursu populi et expositione Sanctissimi Sacramenti nulla probabilis suspicio sit sacrilegii ab haereticis et infidelibus, aut magistratum offensum iri; lucrandi tibi easdem indulgentias; singulis secundis feriis non impeditis officio novem lectionum, vel eis impeditis die immediate sequenti, celebrando missum de Requiem in quocumque altari etiam portatili, liberandi animam secundum tuam intentionem a Purgatori poenis per modum suffragii; tenendi et legendi, non tamen aliis concedendi libros haereticorum vel infidelium de eorum religione tractantium, ad effectum eos impugnandi, et alios quomodolibet prohibitos, praeter opera Caroli Molinaei, Nicolai Machiavelli, et libros de Astrologiâ iudiciariâ principaliter vel incidenter vel alias quovis modo de eâ tractantes, ita tamen ut libri ex provinciâ supradicta non efferantur; praeficiendi parochiis Regulares, eosque suos deputandi Vicarios in defectu saecularium, de consensu tamen suorum superiorum; celebrandi bis in die si necessitas urgeat, ita tamen ut in prima missâ non sumpseris ablutionem, per unam horam ante auroram, et aliam post meridiem, sine ministro, sub dio, et sub terra, in loco tamen decenti, etiamsi altare sit fractum, vel sine reliquiis Sanctorum et praesentibus haereticis, schismaticis, infidelibus et excommunicatis, si aliter cebebrari non possit; deferendi sanctissimum Sacramentum occulte ad infirmos sine lumine, illudque sine eodem retinendi pro iisdem infirmis in loco tamen decenti, si ab haereticis aut infidelibus sit periculum sacrilegii; indumenti vestibus saecularibus, si aliter vel transire ad loca tuae curae commissa, vel in eis permanere non poteris; recitandi Rosarium, vel alias preces, si Breviarium tecum deferre non poteris vel divinum officium ob aliquod legitimum impedimentum recitare non valeas; dispensandi quando expedire

they have relapsed into heresy, and these only in the forum of conscience; of absolving from all cases reserved to the Apostolic See even contained in the bull *Coenae Domini*; of granting plenary indulgence to those who have been first converted from heresy and even to any Christian faithful who have been converted only at the moment of death and could not confess; of conceding a plenary indulgence during forty hours adoration (prayer), to be proclaimed thrice in a year on days seen appropriate to you, to those who have repented, confessed and received holy communion, if only on account of the concourse of the people and the exposition of the most holy Sacrament there is no probable suspicion of sacrilege from heretics and infidels or of offending a magistrate; of acquiring to you the same indulgences, celebrating the office of nine readings on every non-impeded Monday or if impeded on Mondays, on the following day celebrating a requiem Mass - at any altar even at a portable one - for liberating souls from the punishments of Purgatory through suffrage according to your intention; of keeping and reading, but not of giving to others, books of heretics or infidels treating of their religion, for the purpose of impugning them, and any other prohibited books, - except the works of Charles Molina and Nicholas Machiavelli - and the books of judicial astrology principally or incidentally or in any other manner dealing with it, in such a way that the books are not to be carried out from the aforesaid province; of appointing religious to parishes and of deputing them as vicars in the absence of secular priests, but with the consent of their superiors; of celebrating twice on a day, if necessity urges, however in such a way that the first Mass, without taking ablution, one hour before aurora, and the other in the afternoon, without any minister, even in the open air and underground, but in a decent place, even if the altar is broken, or without the relics of saints and being present heretics, schismatics, infidels and excommunicated, if it cannot be celebrated otherwise; of secretly carrying the most holy Sacrament to the sick without a lamp and of preserving it without a lamp for the sick persons, but in a decent place, if there is danger of sacrilege on the part of heretics and schismatics; of wearing secular dress, if otherwise you

videbitur super usu carnium, ovorum et laticiniorum tempore iejuniorum et quadragesimae; has facultates communicandi, non tamen illas, quae requirunt ordinem episcopalem, vel non sine sacrorum oleorum usu exercentur, sacerdotibus idoneis, qui in eorum dioecesibus laborabunt aut quorum operam ac labores agnoveris iniunctae tibi Commissioni conferre ac prodesse, et praesertim tempore tui obitus, ut sit qui possit supplere donec Sedes Apostolica certior facta (quod quamprimum fieri debet per delegatos vel per unum ex eis) alio modo provideat, quibus delegatis auctoritate apostolicâ facultatem concedimus interea, in casu necessitatis, consecrandi calices, patenas et altaria portatilia sacris Oleis ab Episcopo tamen benedictis; facultates gratis et sine ulla mercede exercendas, quibus possis uti etiam extra loca tuae Commissionis, si magna rei christiana utilitas aut urgens necessitas id postulare videbitur, et quae nullatenus alioque expresso modo et Sedis Apostolicae seu Congregationis venerabilium fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium negotio Propagandae Fidei praepositorum mandato expirare intelligentur, auctoritate apostolica, earumdem serie praesentium, concedimus et impartimur.

§ 6. Non obstantibus quatenus opus sit nostrâ et cancellariae apostolicae regula de non tollendo iure quaesito, ac fel. rec. Bonifacii PP. VIII. praedecessoris nostri de unâ et Concilii generalis de duabus dietis aliisque apostolicis, ac in universalibus provincialibusque et synodalibus Conciliis editis generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus; nec non quorumvis Ordinum, Congregationum, institutorum, societatum etiam Iesu ac conventuum, monasteriorum, collegiorum, et hospitiorum, praefataeque Angamalen. et aliarum quarumvis ecclesiarum, et locorum piorum, et aliis quibuslibet, etiam iuramento, confirmatione apostolicâ vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis statutis et consuetudinibus etiam immemorabilibus; privilegiis quoque indultis et litteris apostolicis eisdem Ordinibus, Congregationibus, institutis, societatibus, conventibus, monasteriis, collegiis,

cannot transit to places committed to your care or stay there; of reciting the Rosary or other prayers, if you cannot carry with you the Breviary or if you cannot recite the Divine Office because of any lawful impediment; of dispensing, if it seems expedient, from the prohibition of eating meat, eggs and cheese during the period of abstinence and Lent; of delegating these faculties, but not those which require episcopal Order or those which cannot be administered without the use of oil, to worthy priests who work in those dioceses or to those, whose ministry and efforts you learn about to carry on and to be useful for the Commission incumbent on you, and especially to the one who, at the time of your death, will replace you, until the Holy See, being informed (this should be done as early as possible through delegates or through one of them) provides otherwise--to those interim delegates with apostolic authority we grant the faculty of consecrating, in case of necessity, chalices, patens and portable altars, but with sacred oils blessed by a Bishop; the faculties are to be exercised gratis and without any recompense, which you can utilize even outside the places of your Commission, if the great utility of Christianity or urgent necessity seems to postulate it, and which are understood not to expire in any way other than by an explicit order of the Apostolic See or of the Congregation of our venerable brothers the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church appointed for the affairs of Propaganda Fide.

§ 6. Notwithstanding, as far as be necessary, our regulation and that of the apostolic chancellery on the maintenance of acquired rights, and the dispositions of our predecessor Pope Boniface VIII of happy memory concerning one assembly and that of the general council concerning two assemblies, and likewise notwithstanding other apostolic constitutions and ordinances, whether general or special, as well as those promulgated in universal, provincial and synodal councils; notwithstanding likewise statutes even passed under oath and confirmed by apostolic or any other authority of any orders, congregations, institutes, societies - including the Society of Jesus -, and convents, monasteries, colleges, hospices, and of the aforementioned Church of Angamaly, as well as of any other churches and pious places

hospitiis, eeclesiis et locis piis, illorumque superioribus et personis et aliis quibuslibet, etiam speciali mentione et expressione dignis, sub quibuscumque verborum tenoribus et formis, ac cum quibusvis etiam derogatoriarum et derogatoriis et aliis decretis, in genere vel in specie, etiam motu proprio et de apostolicae potestatis plenitudine, ac consistorialiter, vel etiam ad Imperatorum, Regum, et principum, aliarumve quarumvis personarum qualibet ecclesiastica vel mundanâ dignitate seu praeeminentia fulgentium instantiam, vel eorum contemplatione, seu alias quoquo modo concessis, confirmatis et pluries innovatis. Quibus omnibus et singulis etiamsi pro eorum sufficienti derogatione de illis eorumque totis tenoribus specialis et expressa mentio servanda foret, illorum tenores, datas, formas et occasiones praesentibus pro plene et sufficienter, ac de verbo ad verbum, nihil penitus omisso, insertis, expressis et servatis respective habentes, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, ad praemissorum effectum, hac vice dumtaxat, specialiter expresse ac plenissime derogamus ac derogatum esse volumus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XVII decembris MDCLIX, pontificatus nostri anno V.

and their immemorial customs; notwithstanding also privileges, apostolic indults and letters, granted, confirmed and repeatedly renewed on other occasions in any manner whatsoever in favour of the same orders, congregations, institutes, societies, convents, monasteries, colleges, hospices, churches and pious places, and in favour of their superiors and persons and any others whosoever, even those worthy of special mention and expression, in whatever tenor and form of words, even on our own initiative and with the plenitude of apostolic power or in consistory and at the instance of emperors, kings, princes and any other persons whatsoever illustrious on account of any ecclesiastical or secular dignity or pre-eminence, or in view of them. From each and every one of these, even if with a view to their sufficient derogation special and express mention ought to be made of them and of their entire content, we specifically, expressly and fully derogate and will that there be derogated, for this occasion only, for the effecting of the aforesaid, while they otherwise maintain their force for the future, holding the tenor, dates, forms and occasions of the same aforesaid to be respectively fully and sufficiently inserted, expressed and conveyed, word for word, without any omission, by this present letter. Notwithstanding, moreover, whatsoever to the contrary.

Given in Rome at Saint Mary Major's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 17 December 1659, the fifth year of our Pontificate.

**10. Iosepho a Sancta Maria, Episcopo Hierapolitano,
Auctoritatem Impertitur Committendi Uni vel Duobus
Sacerdotibus tamquam Vicariis Apostolicis
Administrationem Archiepiscopatus Angamalensis**

Venerabili fratri Iosepho a Santa Maria Episcopo Hierapolitano,
Alexander Papa VII.

Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

§ 1. Pro commissa nobis caelitus pastoralis officii cura spirituali christifidelium provinciae Serrae Malabarum seu S. Thomae in India orientali, in qua provincia te Commissarium apostolicum, ac illius administratorem, tam superstite quam defuncto ven. fr. Francisco Garzia Archiepiscopo Angamalensi, per alias nostras in simili forma Brevis literas, quarum tenorem praesentibus haberi volumus pro expresso, deputavimus, utilitati animarumque saluti, quantum cum Domino possumus, providere cupientes, teque a quibusvis excommunic. etc. Censentes de Congregationis nonnullorum ex venn. fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus nogotio Propagandae Fidei praepositis a nobis specialiter deputatae consilio, fraternitati tuae, ut unum vel duos ex iis sacerdotibus saecularibus vel regularibus, qui in illis regionibus degunt, quosque in Domino magis idoneos et tanto muneri exequendo aptiores iudicaveris, uni vel duabus respective Ecclesiis in partibus infidelium consistentibus et pastoris seu pastorum solatio destitutis in Episcopum et pastorem seu Episcopos et pastores, auctoritate nostrâ apostolica, praeficere, ac ei vel eis munus consecrationis cum assistentiâ duorum sacerdotum, etiamsi Episcopi non fuerint, servatis in reliquis caeremoniis in pontificali praescriptis, ac recepto ab illo seu ab illis nostro et Romanae Ecclesiae nomine fidelitatis debitae solito iuramento, impendere, eique vel eis tanquam Vicariis Apostolicis administrationem in spiritualibus supradictae pnovinciae seu Archiepiscopatus Angamalensis in totum vel in parte, donec a Sede Apostolica, quam illico de his omnibus certiorem reddere omnino debebis,

10. Authority Is Given to Joseph of St Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis, for Committing to One or Two Native Priests the Administration of the Archdiocese of Angamaly

Pope Alexander VII

To our venerable brother Joseph of St Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis,
Venerable brother, greeting and apostolic blessing.

§ 1. In virtue of the pastoral office committed to us from heaven, for the spiritual care of the Christian faithful of the province of Malabar or St Thomas in East India, in which province through our other letter in the similar form of a Brief, the tenor of which by the present we wish to be held expressed, we have appointed you apostolic commissary and its administrator, whether venerable brother Francis Garcia, Archbishop of Angamaly, dead or alive, wishing to provide for the good and the salvation of souls, as far as we can with the Lord, and have absolved you from any kind of excommunication, etc. Considering the counsel of the congregations of some of our venerable brothers the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church specially deputed by us from those in charge of the affairs of Propaganda Fide, with the same authority, by the tenor of the present letter, we grant and impart to Your Fraternity the faculty, so that you may have the power and be able: to appoint one or two from among those secular or religious priests, who are residing in those regions, whomever you judge in the Lord more worthy and fitting for exercising so great a ministry, in one or two respective Churches existing in the regions of infidels and deprived of the consolation of pastors or a pastor as Bishop and pastor or Bishops and pastors with our apostolic authority; to confer on him or on them the (office of) consecration with the assistance of two priests, even if they are not Bishops, observing for the rest the ceremonies prescribed in the pontifical, and after receiving from him or from them in our name and in the name of the Roman Church the usual oath of due fidelity, to freely and lawfully impose upon him or them, as vicars apostolic, the administration in spiritual matters of the aforesaid province or the archdiocese of Angamaly totally or partially, until otherwise

fuerit aliter provisum, iniungere libere et licite possis et valeas, facultatem dicta auctoritate tenore praesentium tribuimus et impartimur: districte tibi praecipientes, ut ad praemissa nullatenus devenias, nisi in casibus tibi ab eadem Congregatione praescriptis, iuxta instructionem tibi traditam.

§ 2. Ceterum praefatis Episcopis a te ordinandis et eorum cuilibet, ut ipsi ad ecclesias, quibus eos respective praefeceris, quamdiu illae ab infidelibus detinebuntur, accedere et apud illas personaliter residere nullatenus teneantur, ex nunc prout ex tunc, auctoritate et tenore praefatis, concedimus et indulgemus.

§ 3. Non obstantibus apostolicis, ac in universalibus provincialibusque conciliis editis generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus, necnon omnibus et singulis illis, quae in praefatis literis voluimus non obstare, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae, apud S. Mariam Maiorem, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXIV decembris MDCLIX., pontificatus nostri anno V.

provided for by the Apostolic See, which you shall fully notify of all these matters. We strictly order you that you shall never proceed to the aforesaid matters, except in the circumstances prescribed to you by the same Congregation, and according to the instruction transmitted to you.

§ 2. Besides we concede and grant with the aforementioned authority and tenor, from now as if from then, (the faculty) that the aforesaid Bishops to be ordained by you, and any one of them, are not bound to go to the churches respectively assigned to them and personally reside in them as long as they will be detained from them by infidels.

§ 3. Notwithstanding general or special apostolic constitutions and ordinances, and those issued in universal and provincial councils, as well as all and everything else, which we wish not to thwart the decisions in the present letter, and whatsoever else to the contrary.

Given in Rome at St Mary Major's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 24 December 1659, the fifth year of our pontificate.

11. Commendationes Inquisitoribus Goani Occasione Missionis Iosephi a S. Maria, Episcopi Hierapolitani

Alexander Papa VII,
ad futuram rei memoriam.
Dilecte fili, salutem et apost. benedictionem.

Remeante ad istas partes ven. fr. Iosepho a S. Maria, Episcopo Hierapolitano, praetermittere noluimus, quin gaudium nostrum vobis testaremur, quo perfusi fuimus in Christo Iesu, intelligentes quam alaci zelo et diligentia christianos provinciae Terrae Malabarum, detestando scelere Thomae de Campo dispersos, colligere, ut ab eiusdem Thomae, qui episcopalem honorem, non vocatus a Deo tamquam Aaron, sed superbo sibi tumore damnabiliter arrogavit, veneratione avertere studueritis, operariosque nostros componendis istic rebus sedulo allaborantes, auxilio favoreque vestro cumulaveritis. Qua in re implevistis, filii, partes gravissimi illius muneris, quod vobis credidit haec Sancta Sedes, cuius uberem proinde gratiam estis promeriti. Verum in bonis coepitis cessandum non est, sed eo usque perseverandum donec illa compleat eius gratia, qui omnis boni operis inspirator et perfector est.

Quapropter nos, quibus gregis sui custodiam commisit Deus, istuc denuo mittimus cum mandatis nostris memoratum Episcopum, virum religione catholicaeque fidei zelo ac pietate et sapientia praestantem, ut, quid in dicta provincia adhuc turbatum est, quantum Divina Bonitas dederit, componat; quem ut solitae pietatis vigilantiaeque et solertiae vestrae praesidiis, consiliis et favoribus in tam sancto opere coadiuvetis, vos etiam atque etiam paternae hortamur.

Nec dubitamus id vos sponte vestra, sicut fecistis, ita et facturos; sed rei gravitas exigit, ut bene currentem studii obsequique vestri diligentiam incitemus stimulo apostolicae sollicitudinis, quam religiosis laboribus et conatibus vestris

11. Recommendations to the Inquisitors of Goa on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis

Pope Alexander VII

For future memory

Beloved sons, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Since our venerable brother Joseph of St Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis, is returning to your region, we did not wish to let pass the opportunity to attest to you our great joy, in which we were immersed in Jesus Christ, upon learning with how eager zeal and diligence you have endeavoured to reunite the Christians of the province of the land of the Malabars, dispersed by the detestable crime of Thomas Parambil, and have reunited, in order to turn them from reverence for the same Thomas, who was not called by God to the episcopal dignity like Aaron but with haughty desire perilously arrogated it to himself, and upon learning how you have heaped your help and favour upon our labourers zealously toiling in your region to arrange matters with your help and favour. In this matter, my sons, you have fulfilled the responsibilities of that most important task, entrusted to you by this Holy See, whose copious favour you deserve. Certainly, what has good beginnings must not cease, but should be continued until such time as he completes that grace, who is the inspirer and perfecter of every good work.

Wherefore, we, to whom God has committed the custody of his flock, are again sending the said Bishop with our mandates, a man outstanding in religion and zeal for the catholic faith as well as in piety and wisdom, so that he may settle what has hitherto been disturbed in the said province, as much as Divine Goodness may grant. Again and again we exhort you paternally to help him in such a holy work with the protection, counsel and favour of your usual piety, vigilance and adroitness.

Nor do we doubt that you will do it spontaneously, as in the past, yet the gravity of the matter requires that we urge on the diligence of your zeal and respect that is now running the course with the stimulus of our apostolic solicitude, which you shall always find to be favourable to your religious endeavours and

faventem semper experiemini, et coelestium benedictionum cumulum vobis a Deo precamur.

Datum Romae, apud S. Mariam Maiorem, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XX ianuarii MDCLX.

12. Litterae Apostolicae Christifidelibus in Provincia Terra Malabarum Occasione Missionis Iosephi a S. Maria, Episcopi Hierapolitani

Dilectis filiis christifidelibus provinciae Terra Malabarum, etc.

Alexander Papa VII, ad futuram rei memoriam.

Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

§ 1. Gratum nobis fuit venerationis gratitudinisque officium, quod epistola praecipuae partis vestrum nomine scripta, quam ad nos pertulit venerabilis frater Iosephus a Sancta Maria, Episcopus Hierapolitanus, qui in minoribus constitutus, professionem regularem in Ordine fratrum excalceatorum eiusdem Sanctae Mariae de monte Carmelo emisit, apostolatui nostro pro salute animarum vestrarum laboranti exhibuistis; sed gravissimum cordis nostri de scissura istius Ecclesiae Angamalensis dolorem magnopere exacerbavit, quod res istas nefario Thomae de Campo conturbatas, pristinae necdum cognovimus redditas esse tranquillitati.

§ 2. Et quia paterna nostra de vobis sollicitudo eo magis intenditur, quo pericula vestra magis ingravescere intelligimus; iterum ad vos mittendum esse censuimus cum mandatis nostris eumdem Iosephum, cuius eximia charitas, probitas, fides et industria, ac vobis quoque probata virtus et prudentia, fiduciam nobis in Domino praestant, fore ut eius opera omnia istic ad omnipotentis Dei gloriam animarumque vestrarum utilitatem salubriter componantur, dictaeque Ecclesiae status, divina largiente gratia, prospere constabiliatur.

§ 3. Quapropter ipsum Iosephum apostolicum in ista provincia Terra Malabarum seu Sancti Thomae commissarium et

efforts, and we invoke upon you from God the fullness of heavenly blessing.

Given in Rome at St Mary Major's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 20 January 1660.

12. Apostolic Letter to the Christian Faithful in the Province of Malabar on the Occasion of the Mission of Joseph of St Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis

To our beloved sons the Christian faithful of
the province of Malabar, etc.

Pope Alexander VII, for future memory
Beloved sons, greeting and apostolic blessing.

§ 1. The act of veneration and gratitude, which you exhibited in the letter written in the name of the majority of you, which the venerable brother Joseph of St Mary, who, having been constituted in minor orders, emitted regular profession in the Order of the Discalced Friars of the same St Mary of Mount Carmel and was appointed for our apostolate in labouring for the salvation of your souls, was pleasing to us. However, it very much exacerbated the gravest dolour of our heart concerning the division of that Church of Angamaly, because we have learned that those matters perturbed by the nefarious Thomas Parambil have not yet been restored to pristine tranquillity.

§ 2. And the more our paternal solicitude is extended to you, the more we understand that your dangers are increasing; hence we have decided that again the same Joseph is to be sent to you with our mandates, whose exceptional charity, probity, faith and industry, as well as virtue and prudence experienced by you also, give us confidence in the Lord that all his works there would salubriously effect the glory of the almighty God and the good of your souls, and would fortunately strengthen, by the abundant grace of God, the status of the said Church.

§ 3. Wherefore, we have constituted the same Joseph Apostolic Commissary ~~and~~ Administrator in that province of Malabar or Saint Thomas. Therefore we advise all and each one of you in the Lord and also prescribe you by apostolic authority to

administratorem eiusdem provinciae constituimus; vosque proinde omnes et singulos hortamur in Domino, ac apostolica etiam vobis auctoritate praecipimus, ut eumdem Iosephum, uti nostrum et huius Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae delegatum reverenter, sicut veros Ecclesiae Catholicae filios decet, suscipiatis, eumque debito honore, amore, obsequio et benevolentia prosequamini; ac illi in omnibns iis, quae nomine nostro vobis mandavit, studiosa humilitate pareatis.

§ 4. Porro si adhuc aliqui ex vobis memorato Thomae de Campo, qui nomen Episcopi vesana sibi superbia arrogavit, munericque pastorali sese contra canonicas sanctiones et sanctorum patrum decreta damnabiliter intrusit, adhaerent, illis sub interminatione divini iudicii praecipimus, ut sese ab illo penitus seiungant, eique quoquo modo adhaerere aut favere desinant; ne (quod divina misericordia avertat) extra caulam Domini vagantes, in aeternae damnationis praecipitia ferantur.

§ 5. Et hoc vobis, filii, significandum duximus, quemdam nomine Ignatium Caltrimensem, Atalla seu Adeodatum, assertum patriarcham, et schismaticum, qui in Meliapor captus fuisse dicitur, nec a fel. record. Innocentio X., nec ab ullo alio Romano Pontifice, praedecessore nostro, istuc missum fuisse; sed ementitae legationis apostolicae praetextu simplicitati vestrae illudere tentasse, quo vos erroribus, quibus ipse misere involvebatur, implicaret.

§ 6. Verum gratias agimus divinae Benignitati, quae perniciosis eiusdem schismatici conatibus obstitit, vosque apostolico monemus et hortamur affectu, ut solliciti servetis unionem spiritus in vinculo pacis; atque ita charitatis septo vos munire studeatis, ut a luporum rapacium incursibus securi vitam agatis, ac demum perennis gloriae praemio donari mereamini.

Datum Romae, apud S. Mariam Maiorem, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XX ianuarii MDCLX., pontificatus nostri anno V.

reverently receive, as is fitting to the true sons of the Catholic Church, the same Joseph as our delegate and that of this holy Apostolic See, and to follow him with due honour, love, compliance and benevolence as well as to obey him with diligent humility in whatever he commands you in our name.

§ 4. Further if some of you are until now adhering to Thomas Parambil, who arrogated to himself the name of Bishop with insane pride and perilously appropriated to himself the pastoral ministry against canonical sanctions and the decrees of the holy fathers, we command them, under threat of divine judgement, to separate themselves completely from him and cease to adhere to him or favour him in any manner, lest (which the divine mercy may avert) wandering outside the sheepfold of the Lord, they fall into eternal damnation.

§ 5. And this, sons, we are persuaded to indicate to you, that a certain person called Ignatius, alias Atalla or Adeodatus, asserted to be a patriarch, but a schismatic, who is said to have been captured in Mylapore, was not sent there by Innocent X of happy memory nor by any other Roman Pontiff our predecessor, but on the pretext of a forged apostolic legation he tried to deceive your simplicity, in order to implicate you in the errors in which he himself was miserably involved.

§ 6. Nevertheless we thank the divine Benignity, which has obstructed his pernicious schismatic attempts, and we advise you and exhort you with apostolic affection to solicitously serve the union of spirit in the bond of peace and endeavour to so adorn you with the fullness of charity that you may live secure from the incursions of the rapacious wolves and indeed may deserve to be granted the premium of eternal glory.

Given in Rome at St Mary Major's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on 20 January 1660, the fifth year of our pontificate.

13. Litterae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide super Missionem Fr. Iosephi a S. Maria, Episcopi Hierapolitani, in Provincia Terrae Malabarum

Licet ex iis, quae Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, in vestrarum animarum salute procuranda, praestitit, hactenus satis testatum esse potuerit, quo affectu DD. VV. ac populum istum, quamvis longe dissitum, amplexa sit, ac in praeeeps ruentibus paternam manum extenderit duobus egregiis ac religiosis viris, non modico sane dispendio ac incommodo, ad vos missis; supremum nihilominus eiusdem benevolentiae ac pastoralis sollicitudinis argumentum vobis proferet fratris Iosephi a Sancta Maria, nunc Episcopi Hierapolitani, ad hanc provinciam reditus. Quandoquidem cum nullus a duobus annis de rerum vestrarum statu deque patre Hyacintho nuntius advenerit, metumque paternus amor ingerat, ne, eo sinistro forsan eventu (quod Deus avertat) sublato, vos relictis vesaniae expositi Thomae de Campo; charitas Christi urget nos, ut praedictum Episcopum ad vos denuo impellamus, ut contra impios praefati Thomae conatus opponat murum pro domo Israel et opus Dei, in vobis laudabiliter caeptum, eodem favente, perficiat. Quamobrem, sive eximia erga vos Sedis Apostolicae spectetur sollicitudo, quae, licet sui munieris partes abundanter expleverit, maiestate tamen seposita, vos adhuc reluctantis insequitur; sive eiusdem Episcopi fratris Iosephi in vos pensetur amor, utpote nec laboribus fractus, nec periculis, ac tam longi itineris incommodis perterritus, nec iis quas passus est in vobis, difficultatibus fessus, eidem provinciae ut Christo lucrifaciatur, sese committere non perhorrescit; undique vos vel ipsis beneficiis ad vestram salutem adigi fatendum est, prorsusque inexcusabiles futuros, si huius Sanctae Sedis iudicio (cuius de necessitate salutis parendum est monitis) amore tandem non acqueveritis. Fratres, non de fortunis, aut de re temporali et fluxa, sed de animarum iactura deque aeterna salute agitur; nec vestra, sed vos quaerit Sancta Sedes, laboresque,

13. Letter of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on the Mission of Friar Joseph of St Mary, Bishop of Hierapolis, in the Province of Malabar

Although, from what the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide has so far done to the end of procuring the salvation of your souls, it is to date sufficiently evident, with what affection it has embraced Your Lordship and that people, though dwelling in far distant regions, and extended a paternal hand to those rushing headlong into danger, sending to you two outstanding and religious men, not indeed without much expenditure and inconvenience. Nevertheless the return of friar Joseph of Saint Mary, now Bishop of Hierapolis, offers you the supreme proof of its benevolence and pastoral solicitude. Seeing that no news about the state of your affairs and about Fr Hyacinth have reached here for the last two years, paternal affection evokes the fear that perhaps, subverted by that sinister event (which God forbid), you have remained exposed to the insanity of Thomas Parambil. The charity of Christ urges us to impel the said Bishop in your direction again, so that against the impious endeavours of the said Thomas that he may oppose a wall for the house of Israel and may, with God's own help, complete the work of God laudably begun among you. Wherefore, whether seeing the exceptional solicitude of the Apostolic See towards you, which though it has abundantly fulfilled the duties of its office, setting aside its majesty, has pursued you who until now have been reluctant, whether considering the love of the same Bishop Joseph towards you, in as much as neither shattered by labours and dangers, nor terrified by the troubles of so long a journey, nor exhausted by the difficulties he suffered among you, he has not hesitated to entrust himself to that province, in order to gain it for Christ. In every respect it is necessary to say that through such benefits you are urged in a special way to your salvation and therefore you will be without any possible excuse, if your do not acquiesce to the judgement of this Holy See (whose admonitions it is necessary to obey in order to gain salvation). Brethren, it is not a question of possessions or temporal goods and affluence, but of the loss of souls and of eternal salvation. Nor does the Holy See seek

impensas, sollicitudinem, admonitiones, spiritualia arma, se ipsam libenter impendet et superimpendet, ut vos a faucibus perditionis erectos ad Christi caulam revocet. At plane christiano nomine vestraque nobilitate indignum est, tot repetitis Christi vicarii vocibus adhuc ex parte resistere aut cunctari, vesanique impostoris fraudibus tamdiu abduci. Quod vero ad patrem Hyacinthum attinet, qua ratione apud vos fuerit, qua existimatione eius persona ac monita fuerint a vobis excepta, hic prorsus ignotum, utinam aequo ipsius virtuti ac laboribus fructu. Caeterum, quamvis Sacr. Congregatio eum ad alia non minoris momenti negotia destinaverit, eius tamen iudicio relicta est discedendi aut istic manendi facultas, prout Dei causa, quam agit, quamque solam intendimus, postulaverit.

VV. DD. a Deo summam felicitatem appreco (XX ianuarii anno MDCLX.).

RR. atque DD. Vestrorum

Studiosus

F. Cardinalis Chisius

Marius Albericus, Secretarius

out your possessions, but rather yourselves, and commits utterly labours, expenses, solicitude, exhortations, spiritual arms and its very self, in order that it might snatch you from the jaws of perdition and call you back to Christ's fold. Patently it is unworthy of the name of Christian and of your nobility to resist in part or to hesitate to hearken to so many repeated appeals of the Vicar of Christ, being so long led astray by the frauds of an insane impostor. As regards Fr Hyacinth, in what manner he lived among you, and with what consideration his person and admonitions were received by you is utterly unknown. Would that his virtue and his labours be equal in their fruitfulness! Moreover, although the Sacred Congregation has destined him for other affairs, no less important, nevertheless the faculty has been given to him to decide to depart or to remain there, as the cause of God requires, upon which alone we are intent.

Wishing Your Lordship every happiness from God (20 January 1660)

Devotedly yours,

F. Cardinal Chigi

Mario Alberigo, Secretary